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HIGH STREET, EDINBURGH,
Sept. 1852.

CHAMBERS'S EDUCATIONAL COURSE—CLASSICAL SECTION

CORNELII NEPOTIS

LIBER

DE EXCELLENTIBUS DUCIBUS

EXTERARUM GENTIUM

CUM VITIS CATONIS ET ATTICI

EDINBURGH
PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM AND ROBERT CHAMBERS
1852

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED BY W. AND R. CHAMBERS.

PREFACE.

It is not necessary here to defend the use of Nepos as a school-book. Much may be said both for and against it; but there can be no doubt that, considering how universally the work is employed in education, a classical series such as the present would have appeared imperfect had it not included an edition of Nepos. The text here given is based upon that of Dr Karl Nipperdey, as given in his school edition (Leipzig: 1849); which text is generally considered by scholars as the best that has yet appeared. The texts of Bremi (3d edition; Zürich: 1820) and Tzschucke (Göttingen: 1804) have, however, been carefully compared, and their readings, where they differed from Nipperdey, occasionally adopted. A valuable review by Hartmann of the school editions of Nipperdey and Siebelis, contained in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* for 1851, has also been consulted in the formation of the text. The fragments of several works of Nepos, which have been collected from ancient writers, are not included in this edition, because their brevity, unconnectedness, and unsatisfactory character, render them quite unsuitable for a school-book.

The notes are chiefly historical and grammatical, and in the early part of the book are more numerous than afterwards; it being believed that at the stage in the young student's progress, when Nepos is put into his hands, he might stumble even at some of the minor difficulties of the language. By the time, however, that he has advanced as far as the twelfth or thirteenth Life, he may be presumed to be well initiated into the style of the author, and therefore to require less assistance. In regard to the grammatical portion of the notes, the editor has derived great assistance

from the excellent commentary of Bremi; and for the confirmation of historical statements, and detection of historical errors, he has found Nipperdey invaluable. Tzschucke's commentary has also been carefully read, and, as a combination of the historical with the grammatical and critical, cannot be too strongly recommended to the more advanced student. Very frequent references have been made to the Grammars which form part of this series, both because there is thus a saving of space, and because the consultation of such books has a tendency to form that habit of research, which alone can make an accurate scholar.

EDINBURGH, *1st Sept.* 1852.

INTRODUCTION.

Very little is known of the personal history of Cornelius Nepos, and the few facts with which we are acquainted, have been gathered rather by inference, than from actual statements in ancient writers. In his life of Atticus (19), he speaks of his having survived Atticus as a special dispensation of fortune. From this, as well as from the great intimacy which existed between the two—an intimacy of a kind scarcely consistent with any great disparity of age—we may conclude that Nepos was born about the same time as Atticus—109 B.C. His native district was that part of Cisalpine Gaul which the Insubrians inhabited, beyond the Po. He removed to Rome in early life, and in all likelihood made that city his principal place of residence till his death, content with a small competence, spending his time to a great extent in literary pursuits, in the society of literary friends, and, both from prudence and his natural love of peace and tranquillity, keeping himself entirely unconnected with the political movements of that stirring and eventful epoch. We gather from a remark in one of Cicero's letters to Atticus (xvi. 14, 4), that Nepos lost a child by death about the year 44 B.C., when he must have been considerably advanced in life. His most intimate friends seem to have been Atticus, who was undoubtedly a man of very great learning, taste, amiability, and virtue, though the sketch of his character by Nepos is drawn with the pen of an idolater rather than an admirer; Cicero, the most eminent philosopher and orator that Rome ever produced; and Catullus, a poet of very high genius, who dedicated his collected poems to our author. The exact period of the death of Nepos is uncertain. We know that the latter part of the life of Atticus was written in or after the year 29 B.C., because in chapter 19, Octavianus is styled *imperator*, which title was not conferred on him till that year; and it is probable, considering Nepos's advanced age, that he died shortly after. His character may be very easily seen from his writings. He was a man of high moral excellence, and hence in his biographies he constantly strives to bring the virtues

of his heroes into prominent view, considering their exploits in war as but of secondary interest. His moral observations are almost always just, and often very beautiful. In intellectual power he was merely respectable, not eminent; and a consciousness of this was probably one reason why he never entered the arena of political strife. He paid no great attention to philosophy, partly because his mind was by nature averse to metaphysics, partly, as he says in a fragment which we have of a letter to Cicero (Lactant. *Instit. Divin.* iii. 15, 10), because he was disgusted with the want of consistency between the precepts and the practice of many teachers of ethical philosophy. In historical researches, however, he delighted; and it was to historical writing, particularly biography, that, as an author, he chiefly gave his attention. One of his works was entitled *Chronica*, and appears to have been an epitome of universal history. It consisted of three books, which the poet Catullus calls, more from courtesy perhaps than sincerity, *chartae doctae et laboriosae.* In this production, he treated of the mythical age at considerable length. Another of his works bore the name of *Exempla*, and was probably a history of manners and morals, especially among the Romans. It consisted of at least five books, since A. Gellius, a writer of the second century after Christ, quotes a passage from the fifth book (vii. 18, 11.) Such a work as this must have afforded Nepos frequent opportunities for that moral disquisition, that praise of the noble and the good, and condemnation of the mean and wicked, in which he so much delighted. At the request of Atticus, as Nepos himself tells us (*Cato*, 3, end), he wrote a detailed life of Cato the Censor; and we gather from a passage in Gellius (xv. 28), that he was the author also of a biography of Cicero. It seems not unlikely that he composed, besides, a treatise on geography, and occasionally wrote poetry. But of all these, either nothing remains, or only a few small fragments, which barely convey an idea of the nature of the works of which they formed parts. The most ambitious of the literary productions of our author, and the only one of which a large portion has been preserved, is that entitled *De Viris Illustribus.* His plan was to give a brief biographical sketch of the most distinguished men of all nations and ages, but more especially Greeks and Romans. The lives were divided into books, each of which embraced a particular class of eminent men. Of these books there were at least sixteen, since Charisius, a grammarian of the fourth or fifth century after Christ, refers to the sixteenth (p. 113, ed. Putsch.) Several of the titles of the different categories are known—namely, *De Excellentibus Imperatoribus*, *De Historicis*, *De Regibus*, *De Poëtis*, and *De Grammaticis.* For each of these classes or categories there were probably—in regard to some we know it—two books, the one containing the lives of Romans, the

other those of Greeks or other foreigners.[1] Of this comprehensive work, we possess the book *De Excellentibus Ducibus Exterarum Gentium* complete, along with the lives of Cato and Atticus from the book *De Historicis Latinis*, and a few fragments. The book *De Excellentibus Ducibus Exterarum Gentium* contains lives of eighteen Greek generals, one Thracian, one Persian, and two Carthaginians, along with a very brief account of some of the most eminent monarchs. The period of time comprehended extends from the Persian invasions of Greece, in the beginning of the fifth century B.C., to the death of Hannibal, in the beginning of the second century B.C. Some eminent Greek commanders, who flourished during this period, are not mentioned by Nepos, but, upon the whole, his list is satisfactory. The order of the lives is not strictly chronological; but the deviations are not of much importance.

In judging of the value of the work, and of the character of Nepos as a historian, we must bear in mind that his principal object in the *Vitae Illustrium Virorum*, as well as the *Exempla*, was in all probability to convey moral instruction to his countrymen. He had it in view, not so much to describe the exploits of his heroes with minute accuracy, as to depict their virtues or their vices, and impress his readers with a feeling of moral approbation or disapprobation accordingly. Keeping this chief object of Nepos in mind, we can account for and excuse various things in the work, which, judged by the standard that we commonly apply to a treatise on any historical subject, must be pronounced decided blemishes. For example, we can thus excuse his occasionally stating incidents in a person's life, not in chronological order, but simply as they occurred to his memory; his narration of anecdotes somewhat beneath the dignity of ordinary history, but illustrative of traits of character; and his almost entire neglect, in a few cases, of historical detail, for the sake of dwelling upon moral features. The most lenient critic, however, cannot venture to defend gross inaccuracy in regard to historical statements, which we not unfrequently find in Nepos. Our author seems to have been totally unable to weigh the respective trustworthiness of conflicting accounts; and in some instances, where such presented themselves in his authorities, he attempts to reconcile them, in a simple-minded but utterly unphilosophical

[1] Nipperdey, assuming that there were no more than sixteen books, fills up the number thus, partly by conjecture:—I. *De Regibus Exterarum Gentium;* II. *De Regibus Romanorum;* III. *De Excellentibus Ducibus Exterarum Gentium;* IV. *De Excellentibus Ducibus Romanorum;* V. *De Jurisconsultis Graecis;* VI. *De Jurisconsultis Romanis;* VII. *De Oratoribus Graecis;* VIII. *De Oratoribus Romanis;* IX. *De Poëtis Graecis;* X. *De Poëtis Latinis;* XI. *De Philosophis Graecis;* XII. *De Philosophis Latinis;* XIII. *De Historicis Graecis;* XIV. *De Historicis Latinis;* XV. *De Grammaticis Graecis;* XVI. *De Grammaticis Latinis.*

manner, by throwing the various stories into one, which is, of course, inconsistent and unsatisfactory. So great is the carelessness of Nepos throughout, that in the life of Datames, which he has related more fully than any other ancient writer, and in regard to which, therefore, we can but seldom consult a more trustworthy historian, we are unable to repose implicit belief in his testimony. We may believe in the accuracy of the general outlines, but cannot free ourselves of the conviction, that in the details there are probably not a few mistakes. Whether this inaccuracy arose from natural indolence, and indisposition to careful research, or from haste in the composition of the work, it is greatly to be regretted. In forming his opinion of the character of his heroes, Nepos is too one-sided. They are either models of excellence, or specimens of unmitigated baseness; and Dion is perhaps the only one in this work in whom he sees a mixture of good and evil. In style, our author is generally simple. He loves short, clear sentences, though occasionally, for the sake of effect, he expands his thought into a round rhetorical period. In construction, he is commonly pure; but there are a few cases—for instance, *non dubito*, followed by the accusative with the infinitive, instead of *quin* (see *Praefatio*, p. 1, n. 1), and *verum est, ut* (*Hann.* 1, beginning)—in which he varies from the ordinary mode of expression in good writers. Anacoluths—that is, sentences which end in a manner unsuitable to their commencement, and the different parts of which are therefore inconsistent in construction—are of very frequent occurrence, and prove that the author's carelessness in regard to research extended also to composition. In his choice of single words, likewise, Nepos is generally quite classical, but occasionally we meet with words of a colloquial kind, unsuitable for serious writing, and admitted probably through inadvertence. Such are *impraesentiarum* (*Hann.* 6), *exadversus* and *exadversum* (*Thrasyb.* 2, end, and *Themist.* 3, end), and others. As was to be expected in a book treating principally of Greeks, and in the composition of which the author must constantly have had Greek authorities before him, there are numerous Graecisms in the forms of declension, and sometimes in the words. Thus, for example, we have *Marathona* (*Milt.* 4), *Salamina* and *Troezena* (*Themist.* 2, end), *trieris* for *triremis* (*Alcib.* 4), and *citharizare* (*Epam.* 2, beginning.) Nepos's carelessness in composition appears not merely in broken constructions, as was mentioned above, but also in the disagreeable repetition of the same words, where a change in the expression was quite practicable, without injury to the sense. This occurs very frequently, and some of the most offensive cases are pointed out in the notes. But though Nepos can by no means be placed, either in regard to substance or style, among writers of the first class,

yet the eminently virtuous spirit which pervades his work, and the interesting nature of much that it contains, account for, and in a measure justify, the position which it has almost universally obtained in education.

In the manuscripts, the book *De Excellentibus Ducibus Exterarum Gentium* is ascribed not to Nepos, but to a certain Aemilius Probus, who lived in the reign of the Emperor Theodosius I. (A.D. 379–395.) After the invention of printing, the work passed through a considerable number of editions, with the name of this person as the author; until Dionysius Lambinus, a scholar of great eminence, in an edition which he published in the year 1569, propounded the opinion, that the author was not Probus, but Cornelius Nepos—an opinion which has approved itself to the great majority of competent judges. The principal arguments for this view are the following: first, the purity of the style of the work, which seems to stamp it as belonging to a much earlier period than the time of Probus, for the productions of the later empire are turgid and bombastic, and disfigured by uncouth words and phrases and unclassical constructions; secondly, the great resemblance—extending even to the use of peculiar illogical expressions, such as *res venit alicui in opinionem* for *opinio venit in mentem* (*Milt.* 7, and *Attic.* 9)—between the style of the book *De Excellentibus Ducibus* and that of the lives of Cato and Atticus, which the manuscripts, without variation, ascribe to Nepos; thirdly, the fact that the Atticus to whom the *Praefatio* is addressed can scarcely be any one else than T. Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero and Nepos; fourthly, the fearless denunciations of despotic power contained in the work, which could never have proceeded from a writer living in the slavery and debasement of the later empire; and, lastly, the indications occurring frequently in the book, and commencing even in the *Praefatio* with the expression *magnitudo voluminis*, which is quite inapplicable to the little treatise extant, that it was but a part of a large and comprehensive work on 'illustrious men,' such as we know was composed by Cornelius Nepos.[1] The error in regard to the authorship appears to have originated thus: To the end of some old manuscript of the book *De Excellentibus Ducibus Exterarum Gentium*, a copy of rather doggrel Latin verses

[1] Nipperdey says, that 'if the probable opinion (brought forward by Gläser in the *Rheinisches Museum* for 1843) that the *Liber Memorialis* of Lucius Ampelius, in which the book *De Excellentibus Ducibus Exterarum Gentium* has been largely made use of, was composed before the time of Diocletian (A.D. 284–305), were incontestably certain,' his refutation of the claims of Probus might have been much briefer. While fully believing in the prior existence of the book *De Excellentibus Ducibus*, we are unable to agree in this remark. In a somewhat careful examination of Ampelius, we have found the discrepancies in detail between him and Nepos so numerous, that we think his having consulted the latter improbable.

was by mistake appended, in which Probus dedicates a collection of poems (*carmina*) to the Emperor Theodosius. These lines, carelessly examined, appeared to claim for the writer the authorship of the work with which chance had connected them, though the term *carmina* sufficiently proves the inaccuracy of the notion; and subsequent copyists, under this misapprehension, transferred the verses to their manuscripts, and gave the work the superscription of *Aemilii Probi.*

CONTENTS.

CORNELII NEPOTIS VITAE

EXCELLENTIUM IMPERATORUM.

PRAEFATIO.

Non dubito,[1] fore plerosque,[2] Attice,[3] qui hoc genus scripturae[4] leve et non satis dignum summorum virorum personis[5] judicent, cum relatum legent, quis musicam docuerit Epaminondam, aut in ejus virtutibus commemorari,[6] saltasse eum commode scienterque tibiis cantasse. Sed hi[7] erunt fere qui, expertes litterarum Graecarum,[8] nihil rectum, nisi quod ipsorum moribus conveniat, putabunt. Hi[9] si didicerint non eadem omnibus esse honesta atque turpia, sed omnia majo-

[1] In Nepos, *non dubito*, in the sense of 'I have no doubt,' is always followed by the accusative with the infinitive; in other classic authors, more frequently by *quin* with the subjunctive.

[2] 'Very many.' Compare *Timoth.* 4: *pleraque testimonia.*

[3] The preface is addressed to Atticus, whose life Nepos has written.

[4] 'This kind of composition,' referring, however, as we see from what follows, not to the style, but to the contents of the work.

[5] *Persona* is 'a part' or 'character' in a play; and hence the *summorum virorum personae* here are 'the (important) parts sustained by distinguished men on the stage of the world.'

[6] To govern *commemorari* we must take out of *legent* such an idea as *reperient*, 'shall find.'

[7] That is, those who will form such opinions of my work.

[8] *Litterae Graecae* are here not merely 'Greek literature,' but also Greek usages, learned from an acquaintance with the literature.

[9] Cicero, whose style is the standard of classical Latinity, would have used *qui* here.

rum institutis judicari, non admirabuntur[1] nos in Graiorum virtutibus exponendis mores eorum secutos. Neque enim Cimoni fuit turpe, Atheniensium summo viro, sororem germanam[2] habere in matrimonio, quippe cum[3] cives ejus eodem uterentur instituto. At id quidem nostris moribus nefas habetur. Laudi[4] in Graecia ducitur adolescentulis quam plurimos habuisse amatores. Nulla Lacedaemoni[5] vidua tam est nobilis, quae non ad coenam eat[6] mercede conducta. Magnis in laudibus tota fere fuit Graecia, victorem Olympiae citari;[7] in scenam vero prodire ac populo esse spectaculo[8] nemini in eisdem gentibus[9] fuit turpitudini. Quae omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia atque ab honestate remota ponuntur.[10] Contra ea, pleraque nostris moribus sunt decora quae apud illos turpia putantur. Quem enim Romanorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium? aut cujus non materfamilias primum locum tenet aedium, atque in celebritate versatur?[11] Quod multo

[1] Equivalent here to the simple *mirabuntur*. *Graii* is a poetical form for *Graeci*.

[2] The adjective, *germanus*, means generally 'one who has the same father and mother;' but sometimes, as here, 'one born of the same father, but not of the same mother;' and sometimes, again, 'one born of the same mother, but not of the same father.' The force of *sororem germanam* here is 'his own real sister,' as distinguished from an adoptive sister, or a cousin (*soror patruelis.*)

[3] 'Since,' 'seeing that.' This gives the reason why it was not discreditable in Cimon to have his sister to wife.

[4] As to the construction *laudi ducitur*, 'it is thought an honour,' see *Gram.* § 270.

[5] *Lacedaemoni*, the locative case, 'at Lacedaemon.' *Gram.* § 268, with note 1; *Elem. Gram.* 287.

[6] To entertain the guests by singing, or the like.

[7] 'To be summoned' or 'proclaimed.' At Olympia, a town of Elis in Peloponnesus, the Olympic games were celebrated by the Greeks every four years. A victory in these games was reckoned the highest honour that a Greek could obtain.

[8] As to *esse* with two datives, see *Gram.* § 270; *Elem. Gram.* 289.

[9] The author says, *in eisdem gentibus*, as if he had used the expression, *gentes Graeciae*, not *Graecia*, in the previous clause. Instances of such a change from a place to the people are very numerous.

[10] 'Are considered,' 'esteemed.'

[11] 'Mixes in the throng of general society,' meets and converses with the many persons who, in the course of the day, visit the *primus locus*—that is, the *atrium*—of a Roman gentleman's house. *Celeber* often means 'crowded,' 'much frequented,' and the substantive has a corresponding signification.

fit aliter in Graecia.[1] Nam neque in convivium adhibetur, nisi propinquorum, neque sedet nisi in interiore parte aedium, quae gynaeconitis[2] appellatur; quo nemo accedit nisi propinqua cognatione conjunctus. Sed hic plura persequi magnitudo voluminis prohibet, tum festinatio ut ea explicem quae exorsus sum. Quare ad propositum veniemus, et in hoc exponemus libro de vita excellentium imperatorum.[3]

[1] Except at Sparta, where the women had a liberty bordering upon licentiousness.

[2] This is merely the Latin form of the Greek word γυναικωνῖτις, 'the women's chamber.'

[3] That is, 'of distinguished commanders'—namely, foreigners.

I. MILTIADES.

1. MILTIADES, Cimonis filius, Atheniensis, cum et antiquitate generis,[1] et gloria majorum, et sua modestia, unus omnium maxime floreret, eaque esset aetate, ut jam non solum de eo bene sperare sed etiam confidere[2] cives possent sui talem eum futurum, qualem cognitum judicarunt,[3] accidit ut Athenienses Chersonesum[4] colonos vellent mittere. Cujus generis[5] cum magnus numerus esset, et multi ejus demigrationis peterent societatem, ex his delecti Delphos deliberatum missi sunt, qui consulerent Apollinem,[6] quo potissimum duce uterentur. Namque tum Thraces eas regiones tenebant,

[1] He traced his descent from Aeacus, a mythical king of Aegina, and from Codrus, the last king of Athens.

[2] When Miltiades was a youth, his fellow-citizens were led to 'hope well' of him; and when he became a man, this hope ripened into firm confidence.

[3] 'As they judged him to be, when he became really known to them' by his deeds; that is, in his earlier years, his friends were led by his talents and virtuous conduct to hope that he would become such a man as, in after times, his actions shewed him in truth to be.

[4] From earlier and more trustworthy writers, we know that the person who undertook the expedition to Chersonesus, now about to be described, was not 'Miltiades, son of Cimon,' whose life Nepos professes to relate, but his uncle, Miltiades, son of Cypselus. Our Miltiades was indeed governor of Chersonesus, but his authority came to him from his relationship to the son of Cypselus. The agreement in name of the uncle and nephew easily accounts for the mistake of Nepos. *Chersonesus* is derived from two Greek words, and means 'a land-island,' or peninsula. The particular Chersonesus here spoken of was a part of Thrace, now called the peninsula of the Dardanelles or of Gallipoli, running out into the Aegean Sea.

[5] That is, *quorum colonorum.*

[6] These words seem superfluous. They add nothing to the idea contained in *deliberatum*, except Apollo's name, which was unnecessary. Compare the use of *deliberare* in *Themist.* 2. The oracle of Apollo at Delphi, in Phocis, was the most celebrated of antiquity.

cum quibus[1] armis erat dimicandum. His consulentibus nominatim Pythia[2] praecepit, ut Miltiadem imperatorem sibi sumerent: id si fecissent, incepta prospera futura.[3] Hoc oraculi responso Miltiades, cum delecta manu classe Chersonesum profectus, cum accessisset Lemnum,[4] et incolas ejus insulae sub potestatem redigere vellet Atheniensium, idque Lemnii sua sponte facerent[5] postulasset, illi irridentes responderunt tum id se facturos, cum ille, domo navibus proficiscens, vento aquilone venisset Lemnum.[6] Hic enim ventus, ab septentrionibus oriens, adversum tenet[7] Athenis proficiscentibus. Miltiades, morandi tempus non habens, cursum direxit quo tendebat, pervenitque Chersonesum.

2. Ibi brevi tempore barbarorum copiis disjectis, tota regione quam petierat potitus, loca castellis idonea communiit, multitudinem, quam secum duxerat, in agris collocavit[8] crebrisque excursionibus locupletavit. Neque minus in ea re prudentia quam felicitate adjutus est. Nam cum virtute militum devicisset hostium exercitus, summa aèquitate res constituit, atque ipse ibidem manere decrevit. Erat enim inter eos dignitate regia, quamvis carebat[9] nomine, neque id magis imperio quam justitia[10] consecutus. Neque

[1] Other writers more commonly have *quibus cum*, or, rather, *quibuscum*.

[2] *Pythia* was the title given to the priestess who gave the oracles. The word *nominatim* has considerable force here; for usually the oracular responses were couched in vague and ambiguous language; whereas on this occasion Miltiades was mentioned 'by name,' a high testimony to his pre-eminent fitness for heading the enterprise.

[3] The future infinitive here is governed by the notion of 'saying' (*dixit*), which we take out of *praecepit*.

[4] A fertile island, to the south of Thrace.

[5] It might have been *ut facerent;* but after *oro*, *postulo*, *moneo*, and similar verbs, the subjunctive not unfrequently occurs without the conjunction.

[6] They said to Miltiades jeeringly, 'when you come to Lemnos from your home (Athens) with the north wind, we shall put ourselves in your power.' As Lemnos lies to the north of Athens, this would be sailing directly in 'the eye of the wind.' Miltiades, however, took advantage of the ambiguous word *domo*, to turn their jesting offer into something serious.

[7] *Adversum tenet*, 'holds the opposite;' that is, 'is opposed.'

[8] That is, he assigned to each of his followers a small property, as was the custom in planting colonies.

[9] *Quamvis* is generally construed with the subjunctive. *Gram.* § 358; *Elem. Gram.* 357.

[10] 'Not more by his power than by his justice;' better expressed in our idiom thus, 'not less by his justice than his power.' *Imperium* is

eo secius Atheniensibus, a quibus erat profectus, officia praestabat.[1] Quibus rebus fiebat, ut non minus eorum voluntate perpetuo imperium obtineret qui miserant, quam illorum cum quibus erat profectus. Chersoneso tali modo constituta,[2] Lemnum[3] revertitur, et ex pacto postulat, ut sibi urbem[4] tradant. Illi enim dixerant, cum vento borea domo[5] profectus eo pervenisset, sese dedituros: se autem domum Chersonesi habere.[6] Cares,[7] qui tum Lemnum incolebant, etsi praeter opinionem res ceciderat,[8] tamen, non dicto[9] sed secunda fortuna adversariorum capti, resistere ausi non sunt atque ex insula demigrarunt. Pari felicitate ceteras insulas, quae Cyclades nominantur,[10] sub Atheniensium redegit potestatem.

3. Eisdem temporibus[11] Persarum rex Darius,[12] ex Asia in

the military authority with which Miltiades had been invested by the Athenians, and the sense is, that it was not so much this itself, as the justice with which he exercised it, that procured for him a power equal to that of a king.

1 He performed for the mother-state all such services as in his position he could, by sending corn, and the like.

2 The more ordinary form of expression would be, *rebus in Chersoneso tali modo constitutis.*

3 The names of small islands are frequently construed in the same manner as those of towns. Another illustration occurs in the next sentence, *Chersonesi*, Chersonesus being almost insulated. *Gram.* § 268; *Elem. Gram.* 288.

4 There were two towns in Lemnos—Hephaestia and Myrina. The latter is probably meant here. Of course the surrender of the chief town almost necessarily implied that of the whole island.

5 See p. 5, note 6. In the agreement, as stated in chapter 1, the wind, *aquilo*, was mentioned, here, *boreas*; both are names of the same wind.

6 To govern this clause, supply from *postulat*, in the preceding sentence, the idea of *dixit* (or *dicit*, historical present) *Miltiades.*

7 According to other authors, the inhabitants of Lemnos were of the Pelasgian, not the Carian race.

8 Exactly rendered by our 'had fallen out.' The metaphor is taken from dice, which fall out of the box as chance, not skill, directs.

9 Understand *suo*, 'by what they had said, by their former promise.' They were not brought to submission by a regard to their jesting agreement, but awed into it by a knowledge of the power and success of Miltiades and his companions.

10 A group of islands in the Aegean, called Cyclades, from κύκλος, 'a circle;' because they surrounded, as it were, in a circle, the holy island of Delos, the birthplace of Apollo and Artemis (the Roman Diana.)

11 A very indefinite expression, indicating merely that the events about to be described took place whilst Miltiades was ruler of Chersonesus. The date of this expedition of the Persians was 508 B.C.

12 The son of Hystaspes. He invaded Scythia in retaliation for certain inroads into his dominions.

Europam exercitu trajecto, Scythis bellum inferre decrevit. Pontem fecit in Histro[1] flumine, qua[2] copias traduceret. Ejus pontis, dum ipse abesset,[3] custodes reliquit principes,[4] quos secum ex Ionia et Aeolide duxerat; quibus singulis ipsarum[5] urbium perpetua dederat imperia. Sic enim facillime putavit se Graeca lingua loquentes[6] qui Asiam incolerent sub sua retenturum potestate, si amicis suis oppida tuenda tradidisset, quibus, se oppresso, nulla spes salutis relinqueretur.[7] In hoc fuit tum numero[8] Miltiades, cui illa custodia crederetur.[9] Hic cum crebri afferrent nuncii male rem gerere Darium premique a Scythis, Miltiades hortatus est pontis custodes, ne a fortuna datam occasionem liberandae Graeciae[10] dimitterent. Nam si cum his copiis, quas secum transportarat,[11] interisset Darius, non solum Europam fore[12]

[1] Hister or Ister, the Danube. The name of Ister was properly given to it only in the lower part of its course, but is frequently used indifferently with Danubius, for the whole river.

[2] *Pons* being masculine, *qua* cannot be the relative agreeing with it, but is used adverbially, for *qua via*, or *qua parte*, 'where.' Compare *Eumenes*, 8: *duae erant viae, qua* . . . .

[3] The subjunctive indicates that this clause was a part of the commission given to the keepers of the bridge; or, in other words, that the commission was expressed somewhat in these terms: 'so long as I am absent, you shall take care of the bridge.'

[4] 'The head men'—namely, of the cities in Asia Minor, as explained in the next clause.

[5] *Ipsarum* does not agree with *urbium*, but is governed by it, and is equivalent to *Ioniae et Aeolidis*, 'of the towns in the provinces just mentioned.' Ionia was the maritime part of Lydia, and Aeolis a district in the south-west of Mysia. Both Ionia and Aeolis were inhabited by colonists from Greece.

[6] *Graeca lingua loquentes*, a circumlocution for *Graecos*. *Lingua* is an ablative of manner: *Gram.* § 293. *Facillime* belongs to *retenturum*.

[7] The subjunctive, because Nepos is stating the king's thoughts. *Gram.* § 360, 7; *Elem. Gram.* 360, 7.

[8] Namely, *amicorum*.

[9] The subjunctive, because expressing the king's idea: 'to whom that charge could (safely) be intrusted.' The indicative, an English reader may suppose, would be more natural; but the ancients frequently, by their constructions, express feelings, where the colder modern would be content with stating facts.

[10] *Graecia* here is not so much European Greece as Greek Asia Minor, the country of those *Graeca lingua loquentes, qui Asiam incolerent* mentioned above.

[11] This clause occurring in a reported speech, and forming an integral part of it, the verb should have been in the subjunctive, *transportasset*, but Nepos occasionally transgresses the rule of the *oratio obliqua*. *Gram.* § 361; *Elem. Gram.* 361.

[12] From *hortatus est* supply *dixit*.

tutam, sed etiam eos, qui Asiam incolerent Graeci genere, liberos a Persarum futuros dominatione et periculo; et facile effici posse. Ponte enim rescisso, regem vel hostium ferro vel inopia paucis diebus interiturum. Ad hoc consilium cum plerique accederent, Histiaeus[1] Milesius, ne res conficeretur, obstitit, dicens non idem ipsis, qui summas imperii[2] tenerent, expedire et multitudini, quod Darii regno ipsorum niteretur dominatio; quo[3] extincto ipsos, potestate expulsos, civibus suis poenas daturos. Itaque adeo se abhorrere[4] a ceterorum consilio, ut nihil putet ipsis utilius quam confirmari regnum Persarum. Hujus cum sententiam plurimi essent secuti, Miltiades, non dubitans, tam multis consciis,[5] ad regis aures consilia sua perventura, Chersonesum reliquit ac rursus Athenas demigravit. Cujus ratio etsi non valuit, tamen magnopere est laudanda, cum amicior omnium libertati quam suae fuerit dominationi.

4. Darius autem, cum ex Europa in Asiam redisset, hortantibus amicis ut Graeciam redigeret in suam potestatem, classem quingentarum navium[6] comparavit, eique Datim praefecit et Artaphernem, hisque ducenta peditum, decem milia[7] equitum dedit, causam interserens,[8] se hostem esse Atheniensibus,[9] quod eorum auxilio Iones

[1] Governor of Miletus, the chief town of the Ionian league.

[2] The singular form, *summa imperii*, is of more frequent occurrence; the phrase means 'chief authority.'

[3] Namely, *Dario*.

[4] *Abhorrere* is often used in a milder sense than the derivation would lead us to suppose: here, however, it is strong, 'that he is so utterly opposed to.' Observe, that in this part of the reported speech, Nepos uses the present, *putet*, as if, in the leading clause, he had said *obsistit* (not *obstitit*) *dicens*. The change, however, from the past tense to the more lively historical present, is very natural.

[5] In the construction of the ablative absolute a participle is generally found; but often, as here, merely an adjective. The present participle of the substantive verb *esse*, which would be required here, does not exist. See *Gram.* § 405, note 2.

[6] The number both of the ships and of the troops is differently stated by other authors. It is probable that Nepos is not far from the truth.

[7] *Milia* belongs to *ducenta* as well as to *decem*.

[8] A word almost confined to poetry, used here for *interponens*. It is suitable enough, whether we consider it as from *sero*, *serui*, 'I knit,' or from *sero*, *sevi*, 'I sow.' In the one case, Darius, as it were, 'wove,' 'knit' the alleged cause into his oration; in the other, he 'sowed' the seeds of dissension between himself and a friendly people. Translate *causam interserens*, 'alleging as the cause of war.'

[9] This should properly have been *Atheniensium*, governed by *hostem*.

Sardes[1] expugnassent suaque praesidia interfecissent. Illi praefecti regii, classe ad Euboeam[2] appulsa, celeriter Eretriam[3] ceperunt, omnesque ejus gentis[4] cives abreptos in Asiam ad regem miserunt.[5] Inde ad Atticam accesserunt, ac suas copias in campum Marathona[6] deduxerunt. Is est ab oppido[7] circiter milia passuum decem.[8] Hoc tumultu[9] Athenienses tam propinquo tamque magno permoti auxilium nusquam nisi a Lacedaemoniis petiverunt, Phidippumque,[10] cursorem ejus generis qui hemerodromoe[11] vocantur, Lacedaemonem miserunt, ut nunciaret quam celeri opus esset auxilio.[12] Domi autem creant decem praetores,[13] qui exercitui praeessent,[14] in eis Miltiadem. Inter quos magna fuit

Atheniensibus is governed by *esse*, 'that he was to the Athenians as an enemy;' that is, 'that they had him for an enemy.' See *Gram.* § 266; *Elem. Gram.* 285.

[1] An important city of Lydia, once the capital of that country. The event alluded to occurred in the year 499 B.C.

[2] A large island, stretching along the coasts of Locris, Boeotia, and Attica. This expedition of Datis and Artaphernes was in 490 B.C.

[3] The town next in importance to Chalcis in the island.

[4] See p. 2, note 9.

[5] Other authors say that this was not done till the end of the campaign, when the generals returned to Asia.

[6] For *Marathonium*, the substantive in apposition being used for the adjective. *Marathona* is a Greek form of the accusative for *Marathonem*. See *Gram.* § 70, 2.

[7] *Oppidum*, Athens, which in Attica was by pre-eminence 'the town.' The word ἄστυ, 'the city,' is often used in Greek authors for Athens, and Nepos (*Themist.* 4) has it in the Latin form. In Italy, Rome was *urbs*, 'the city.'

[8] A thousand paces are somewhat less than an English mile.

[9] *Tumultus* is 'a sudden war.' The term was generally applied by the Romans to the risings of the Gauls in the north of Italy.

[10] Herodotus, a Greek historian, calls him Phidippides.

[11] This is the Greek word ἡμεροδρόμοι, 'day-runners,' written in the Latin form. The name was given to couriers or runners, who could go a great distance in one day. The form of the nominative plural of the second declension in *oe* (Greek οι) occurs very rarely. See *Gram.* § 58, note 7. *Ejus generis qui—vocantur* is a construction according to the sense. Strict rule would give *generis* a relative in the singular and neuter, but the noun is collective, and here applied to men. *Gram.* § 232, 3, note.

[12] The Spartans, however, were prevented by certain religious observances from coming to the assistance of the Athenians in time.

[13] 'Leaders,' 'chiefs,' 'military commanders.'

[14] *Creant praetores qui praesint* would be the strict grammatical construction; but the historical present, referring in reality to past time, is very frequently treated, so far as dependent clauses are concerned, as if it were a past tense. *Gram.* § 364, note 2.

contentio, utrum moenibus defenderent,[1] an obviam irent hostibus acieque decernerent.[2] Unus Miltiades maxime nitebatur,[3] ut primo quoque tempore[4] castra fierent. Id si factum esset, et civibus animum accessurum,[5] cum viderent de eorum virtute non desperari,[6] et hostes eadém re fore tardiores, si animadverterent[7] audere adversus se tam exiguis copiis[8] dimicare.

5. Hoc in tempore[9] nulla civitas Atheniensibus auxilio fuit praeter Plataeenses.[10] Ea mille misit militum.[11] Itaque horum adventu decem milia armatorum completa sunt; quae manus mirabili flagrabat pugnandi cupiditate. Quo factum est ut plus quam collegae Miltiades valeret. Ejus ergo auctoritate impulsi, Athenienses copias ex urbe edux-

[1] *Defenderent* here is equivalent to *arcerent*, 'should ward off.' Supply *hostes* from the following, *hostibus*.

[2] 'And settle the matter by a pitched battle,' as opposed to skirmishes.

[3] This verb well expresses the earnestness and pertinacity with which Miltiades supported his opinion. The imperfect, too, implies that he spoke again and again on the subject. *Gram.* § 335.

[4] A peculiar phrase, equivalent to *quam primum*, 'as soon as possible.'

[5] 'That courage would be added,' or 'that additional courage would be given.' To govern this clause, supply the idea of *dicebat* from the preceding, *nitebatur*.

[6] An impersonal construction; literally, 'that it was not despaired'—that is, 'that there was no despair.' In this mode of construction, the mere action of the verb is expressed, without its being attributed to any definite subject. Were the verb put in the active voice, and a subject supplied, the expression would be *praetores non desperare*.

[7] Supply *eos* or *Athenienses*. In cases where the subject of the governing and of the governed verb is the same, the omission of the accusative of the pronoun before the infinitive is common and quite justifiable; but in this case, where *animadverterent* and *audere* have different subjects, it is decidedly reprehensible. See *Gram.* § 385.

[8] The ablative here may be accounted for as an ablative absolute, 'while their forces were so small.' However, it may be observed, that the Latin authors frequently, in speaking of military operations, use the ablative alone, though properly *cum* is required. This may be an instance of the practice.

[9] *Tempus* here means not simply 'time,' but 'critical state of affairs.' Hence the preposition. *Gram.* § 308, note 1.

[10] *Plataeae* was a town in Boeotia.

[11] In this sentence of four words there are two peculiarities. For *ea misit* we expect *Ii miserunt*, but Nepos construes as if he had said *nulla civitas praeter (civitatem) Plataeensem* or *Plataeensium*. *Mille militum* should, according to ordinary usage, be *mille milites*. *Mille*, however, is here, and in some other cases, treated as a substantive, which its plural always is. *Gram.* § 104, note; *Elem. Gram.* 88.

erunt, locoque idoneo castra fecerunt. Dein[1] postero die sub montis radicibus,[2] acie regione instructa non apertissima, proelium commiserunt (namque arbores multis locis erant stratae[3]), hoc consilio, ut et montium altitudine tegerentur, et arborum tractu[4] equitatus hostium impediretur, ne multitudine clauderentur. Datis, etsi non aequum[5] locum videbat suis, tamen, fretus numero copiarum suarum, confligere cupiebat, eoque magis, quod, priusquam Lacedaemonii subsidio venirent, dimicare utile arbitrabatur. Itaque in aciem peditum centum, equitum decem milia[6] produxit proeliumque commisit. In quo tanto plus virtute valuerunt Athenienses,[7] ut decemplicem numerum hostium profligarint,[8] adeoque perterruerint, ut Persae non castra sed naves petierint. Qua pugna nihil adhuc[9] est nobilius. Nulla enim unquam tam exigua manus tantas opes prostravit.[10]

6. Cujus[11] victoriae non alienum[12] videtur quale praemium Miltiadi sit tributum docere, quo facilius intelligi possit eandem omnium civitatum esse naturam. Ut enim populi Romani honores quondam fuerunt rari et tenues,[13] ob eamque causam gloriosi, nunc autem effusi[14] atque obsoleti

[1] The form, *deinde*, occurs more frequently.

[2] 'At the foot of a mountain.' Construe the following clause thus: *acie instructa (in) regione non apertissima.*

[3] They felled trees, so as to encumber the Persian cavalry in their operations; and the chief purpose both of this proceeding and of their taking up a position at the foot of a hill, was to prevent the enemy from surrounding them.

[4] *Arborum tractus* seems to mean 'a great extent of ground covered with (felled) trees,' or 'an abattis.'

[5] 'Favourable.'

[6] *Milia* belongs to *centum* as well as to *decem.* The other hundred thousand (chapter 4) must have been left in the camp, or with the ships.

[7] Namely, *quam hostes.*

[8] According to strict rule, the imperfect subjunctive should have been used here. But Nepos is fond of the perfect. *Gram.* § 364, note 1.

[9] 'Up to the present time.'

[10] Translate thus: 'for there has been no (other) case in which so small a band . . .'

[11] Observe how closely the Latin language connects its sentences. *Gram.* § 323.

[12] 'Foreign to my plan.'

[13] 'Few and slight.'

[14] *Effusi*, 'profuse,' 'extravagant,' is opposed both to *rari* and *tenues* —to the former, in the sense of 'too numerous and frequent;' and to the latter, in that of 'excessively high.' *Obsoleti*, 'old-fashioned;' hence 'worthless,' is opposed to *gloriosi.*

sic olim apud Athenienses fuisse reperimus. Namque huic Miltiadi, quia Athenas totamque Graeciam liberarat, talis honos tributus est, in porticu quae[1] Poecile[2] vocatur cum pugna depingeretur Marathonia, ut in decem praetorum numero prima[3] ejus imago poneretur, isque hortaretur milites proeliumque committeret. Idem ille populus, posteaquam majus imperium est nactus, et largitione magistratuum corruptus est,[4] trecentas[5] statuas Demetrio Phalereo[6] decrevit.

7. Post hoc proelium[7] classem septuaginta navium Athenienses eidem Miltiadi dederunt, ut insulas, quae barbaros adjuverant,[8] bello persequeretur. Quo imperio plerasque ad officium redire coëgit,[9] nonnullas vi expugnavit. Ex his[10] Parum[11] insulam, opibus elatam, cum oratione[12] reconciliare non posset, copias e navibus eduxit, urbem operibus clausit omnique commeatu privavit; dein, vineis ac testudinibus[13]

[1] Construe thus: *cum Marathonia pugna depingeretur in porticu quae vocatur Poecile.*

[2] *Poecĭle* is the Latin form of Ποικίλη, 'many-coloured.' The Greek word understood is στοὰ, 'an arcade' or 'piazza.' The Poecile was a famous hall at Athens, so called from the paintings exhibited in it. From this Stoa the philosophical sect of the Stoics had its name, because its founder, Zeno, taught there.

[3] 'In the foreground.'

[4] The inelegant repetition of *est* may be accounted for by the fact, that in *nactus est*, a deponent, the sense is active, in *corruptus est*, it is passive.

[5] That is, in round numbers. The exact number was 360, but we cannot expect an author to speak always with strict historical accuracy in regard to incidents mentioned merely by way of illustration.

[6] Demetrius Phalereus was a distinguished orator, statesman, and writer. He governed Athens from 317 till 307 B.C., in the interest of Cassander the Macedonian.

[7] In the following year—that is, B.C. 489.

[8] That is, the Cyclades. See p. 6, n. 10.

[9] 'He caused many to return to their duty'—that is, to their allegiance to Greece. As *coëgit* is opposed here to *expugnavit*, it must be taken in the mild sense, of 'forced by persuasion,' 'induced.'

[10] *Ex his* would naturally be supposed to refer to the last-mentioned *insulae*, those *quas vi expugnavit.* But the reference is to the whole of the islands which had assisted the Persians: 'of these islands which Miltiades went to bring to obedience.' Nepos's mode of expression here is decidedly careless.

[11] Paros, one of the Cyclades, famed for its marble.

[12] 'By advice,' 'persuasion,' 'peaceful means.'

[13] *Vineae* and *testudines* were sheds by which soldiers were protected while working under the walls of a besieged city.

constitutis, propius muros accessit. Cum jam in eo esset, ut[1] oppido potiretur, procul in continenti[2] lucus, qui ex insula conspiciebatur, nescio quo casu, nocturno tempore incensus est. Cujus flamma ut ab oppidanis et oppugnatoribus est visa, utrisque venit in opinionem[3] signum a classiariis regis datum. Quo factum est ut et Parii a deditione deterrerentur, et Miltiades, timens ne classis regia adventaret, incensis operibus quae statuerat, cum totidem navibus atque[4] erat profectus Athenas, magna cum offensione civium suorum, rediret. Accusatus ergo est proditionis, quod, cum Parum expugnare posset, a rege corruptus,[5] infectis rebus, discessisset.[6] Eo tempore aeger erat vulneribus quae in oppugnando oppido acceperat. Itaque, quoniam ipse pro se dicere non posset,[7] verba fecit[8] frater ejus Stesagoras. Causa cognita, capitis absolutus,[9] pecunia multatus est, eaque lis[10] quinquaginta talentis[11] aestimata est, quantus in classem sumptus factus erat. Hanc pecuniam quod solvere in prae-

1 *In eo esset ut*, 'he was on the point of.' The expression may either be taken impersonally, or *res* may be understood.

2 We are told by another author that the fire was not on the mainland of Asia, but in the island of Mycŏnos, to the north of Paros. This latter statement is probably the correct one, because, both from the distance and from the islands which lie between, a fire on the mainland could scarcely be seen from Paros.

3 *Res venit alicui in opinionem* is an illogical and unusual expression for *opinio venit in mentem*. Compare *Atticus*, 9, near the end.

4 *Totidem* is usually followed by *quot*, not by *atque*. Nepos mentions the fact, that Miltiades brought back the same number of ships as he had when he set out, to shew that he had incurred no loss, and that the displeasure of his countrymen was caused merely by his having had no positive success.

5 'Bribed.'

6 The verb in the subjunctive, to shew that this was the charge in the accusation. The author's own opinion may have been different. *Gram.* § 354 ; *Elem. Gram.* 359, 7.

7 The subjunctive is used to shew that this was the reason which Stesagoras assigned for his pleading. Nepos seems to have made a mistake here. Other historians tell us that Stesagoras died before Miltiades went to Chersonesus. Some other relative or friend probably undertook the wounded hero's defence.

8 Equivalent here to *causam dixit*, 'pleaded the cause.'

9 *Capitis absolutus*, 'though acquitted of the capital charge.' A *causa capitis* was a cause involving capital punishment, if the accused were found guilty.

10 *Lis*, properly, 'a lawsuit,' is sometimes used for the punishment, particularly, as here, for 'a fine.'

11 About eleven thousand pounds in English money.

sentia[1] non poterat, in vincla publica[2] conjectus est, ibique diem obiit supremum.[3]

8. Hic etsi crimine[4] Pario est accusatus, tamen alia causa fuit damnationis. Namque Athenienses propter Pisistrati[5] tyrannidem, quae paucis annis ante[6] fuerat, omnium civium suorum potentiam extimescebant. Miltiades, multum in imperiis magnisque[7] versatus, non videbatur[8] posse esse privatus, praesertim cum consuetudine ad imperii cupiditatem trahi videretur. Nam Chersonesi[9] omnes illos quos habitarat annos perpetuam obtinuerat dominationem, tyrannusque fuerat appellatus, sed justus. Non erat enim vi consecutus, sed suorum voluntate, eamque potestatem bonitate retinebat. Omnes autem et dicuntur et habentur tyranni, qui potestate sunt perpetua in ea civitate, quae libertate usa est. Sed in Miltiade erat cum summa humanitas, tum mira communitas,[10] ut nemo tam humilis esset, cui non ad eum aditus

[1] 'At the moment.' This appears to indicate that he had property enough, but could not at once convert it into money. It would seem that Nepos in his life of Cimon followed some other authority in regard to this matter. See *Cimon*, 1.

[2] That is, into prison, and even into chains. The *vincla* are called *publica*, because Miltiades was thrown into them for a debt to the state.

[3] 'Faced or underwent his last day'—that is, 'died.' In all languages we find softened expressions (euphemisms) for the words 'die' and 'death,' marking the general aversion to the thought of dissolution. Thus, in English, we have 'to depart this life,' 'to be gone,' 'to expire,' and others. The Latin phrase with *obire* occurs in various forms, as *obire supremum diem*, *obire suum diem*, *obire diem*, *obire mortem*, and simply *obire*.

[4] The word *crimen* often means not 'crime,' but 'accusation,' 'charge.'

[5] Pisistratus held the government of Athens, with interruptions, from 560 till 527 B.C., and his son Hippias from 527 till 510 B.C. The expression, *Pisistrati tyrannis*, seems to mean 'the tyranny founded by Pisistratus,' and thus to include both his own and his son's rule. The words, *tyrannus* and *tyrannis*, do not necessarily imply, as our 'tyrant' and 'tyranny' commonly do, a cruel governor and government, but merely despotic power in a state formerly free. This fact must be borne in mind in translating the sentence, *Nam Chersonesi* . . . a little below.

[6] It was about twenty years since Hippias had been expelled.

[7] *In imperiis magnisque* is equivalent to *in imperiis et quidem magnis*, 'in commands, and those, too, important ones.'

[8] *Videbatur, cum—videretur*, as well as *posse esse*, is an awkward mode of expression.

[9] See p. 6, n. 3.

[10] 'Condescension,' 'courteousness.' A man is *communis* who, as it

pateret, magna auctoritas apud omnes civitates, nobile nomen, laus rei militaris maxima. Haec populus respiciens[1] maluit eum innoxium plecti, quam se diutius esse in timore.

were, makes himself common property, does not consider any one beneath his notice. This is the only passage in which the substantive is used with this signification.

[1] The participial construction here is equal to a clause with *quamquam*, 'although.'

II. THEMISTOCLES.

1. THEMISTOCLES, Neocli[1] filius, Atheniensis.[2] Hujus[3] vitia ineuntis adolescentiae magnis sunt emendata[4] virtutibus, adeo ut anteferatur huic[5] nemo, pauci pares putentur. Sed ab initio est ordiendus.[6] Pater ejus Neocles generosus[7] fuit. Is uxorem Halicarnassiam[8] civem duxit, ex qua natus est Themistocles. Qui cum minus[9] esset probatus parentibus, quod et liberius vivebat et rem familiarem[10] negligebat, a patre exheredatus est. Quae contumelia non fregit[11] eum, sed erexit. Nam cum judicasset sine summa industria non posse eam extingui, totum se dedidit reipublicae,[12] diligen-

[1] Properly, *Neoclis*, the noun *Neocles* being of the third declension. This peculiarity in the genitive occurs occasionally with a number of Greek proper names ending in *es*. *Gram.* § 63.

[2] Many of the lives in Nepos begin in this manner, as with a superscription or title.

[3] *Hujus*, governed by *adolescentiae*, 'of him,' 'his.'

[4] 'Were improved,' 'corrected'—that is, though his youth was wild and vicious, yet, as he advanced to mature manhood, the great virtues of his nature enabled him to throw off his vices, and to become a noble and useful citizen.

[5] *Huic* after *hujus* is awkward.

[6] The subject to *ordiendus est* is 'Themistocles,' instead of 'his life.' Compare *Alcib.* 11: *reliquos ordiamur.*

[7] *Generosus* is equivalent to *nobili genere ortus*, 'of noble birth.'

[8] Halicarnassus was a large and celebrated town, situated on the sea-coast of Caria, in Asia Minor.

[9] *Minus*, properly, 'less,' 'less than is proper,' is often used for *non*.

[10] *Res familiaris* is 'property.' *Negligere* implies not merely carelessness with regard to increasing his property, but positive extravagance. *Diligens*, the opposite of *negligens*, has often the sense of 'economical,' 'saving.'

[11] *Frangere* is frequently used figuratively of the mind or spirits, 'to crush utterly.'

[12] 'Gave himself wholly up to state affairs,' 'to public business.'

..ius amicis famaeque serviens.[1] Multum in judiciis privatis[2] v..rsabatur, saepe in concionem populi prodibat; nulla res m..jor[3] sine eo gerebatur; celeriter quae[4] opus erant reperiebat, facile eadem oratione explicabat. Neque minus in rebus gerendis promptus quam excogitandis[5] erat, quod et de instantibus, ut ait Thucydides,[6] verissime judicabat, et de futuris callidissime conjiciebat. Quo factum est, ut brevi tempore illustraretur.

2. Primus autem gradus fuit capessendae reipublicae[7] bello Corcyraeo;[8] ad quod gerendum praetor a populo factus, non solum praesenti bello, sed etiam reliquo tempore, ferociorem[9] reddidit civitatem. Nam cum pecunia publica, quae ex metallis[10] redibat, largitione magistratuum quotannis interiret, ille persuasit populo, ut ea pecunia classis centum[11] navium

[1] The verb, *servire*, here governs *amicis* and *famae* in somewhat different senses; 'serving his friends and striving after fame.' This is an instance of zeugma.

[2] *Judicia privata* might mean law-processes submitted not to a regular court, but to private persons chosen as arbiters by the parties. However, as these *judicia* are opposed to the *concio populi*, 'assembly of the people,' we must take the word as comprehending law-courts generally. Thus we have 'trials in which private interests only are concerned,' opposed to 'the assembly of the people, in which the affairs of state are discussed.' Observe that in this sentence and the next, which describe the course of conduct pursued by Themistocles for a series of years, we have the imperfect used. See *Gram.* § 335; *Elem. Gram.* 339.

[3] 'Greater,' 'of more consequence' (than usual.)

[4] As to the construction of *opus*, see *Gram.* § 301; *Elem. Gram.* 314.

[5] It would be more in accordance with ordinary usage to repeat the preposition before *excogitandis.*

[6] Thucydides, a very distinguished Greek historian (471-401 B.C.) Compare chapter 9, note 12. The sketch of the character of Themistocles given here is taken almost wholly from Thucydides. The connection in this sentence, *neque—erat, quod—judicabat*, is illogical. Instead of 'he was as prompt in acting as in planning, because he was sound-headed and far-sighted,' we certainly expect something like 'because his acute mind suggested the mode of accomplishing things as readily as it suggested the things themselves.'

[7] 'His first step in (taking part in) the management of the republic;' that is, 'his first appearance as a public officer.'

[8] This is a mistake. The war was with the inhabitants not of Corcyra, but of Aegina. Corcyra, now Corfu, one of the Ionian islands, to the west of Epirus; Aegina, now Enghia, an island off the east coast of Peloponnesus, in the Saronic Gulf.

[9] Not 'wilder,' 'more ferocious,' but simply 'bolder,' as frequently.

[10] *Metalla* are 'mines,' and those here meant are the valuable silver-mines in the hills called Laurium, in the south of Attica, which the Athenians worked.

[11] Herodotus, a Greek historian, says 200.

aedificaretur. Qua celeriter effecta, primum Corcyraeos fregit, deinde maritimos praedones consectando mare tutum reddidit. In quo[1] cum divitiis ornavit,[2] tum etiam peritissimos belli navalis fecit Athenienses. Id[3] quantae saluti[4] fuerit universae Graeciae, bello cognitum est Persico.[5] Nam cum[6] Xerxes[7] et mari et terra bellum universae inferret Europae, cum tantis copiis quantas neque ante nec postea habuit quisquam: hujus[8] enim classis mille et ducentarum navium longarum[9] fuit, quam duo milia onerariarum sequebantur; terrestres autem exercitus[10] septingenta peditum, equitum quadringenta milia[11] fuerunt. Cujus de adventu[12] cum fama in Graeciam esset perlata, et maxime Athenienses peti[13] dicerentur propter pugnam Marathoniam,[14] miserunt[15] Delphos consultum, quidnam facerent de

[1] 'In which proceeding,' 'by which means.'

[2] *Ornare* is frequently used in the sense of 'to furnish,' 'fit out' for use, as well as that of 'to adorn' for display.

[3] *Id* supplies the place of a whole clause—namely, 'the fact that the Athenians became skilful in naval warfare.'

[4] See *Praefatio*, p. 2, note 8.

[5] The second Persian war, 480 B.C.

[6] This sentence is imperfect. A parenthetical passage comes in at *hujus enim;* and the author, apparently forgetting how he had begun, commences anew in a manner slightly different, at *Cujus de adventu.* Such an irregular sentence is called by grammarians an anacoluth.

[7] Xerxes, son of Darius, reigned over Persia from 485 till 465 B.C.

[8] *Hujus* is governed by the expressed *classis*, and *navium* by another *classis* understood. Thus, 'his fleet was (one, a fleet) of . . .' See *Gram.* § 276, note 1.

[9] *Naves longae* were ships of war; they were built long and rather narrow, that their motion might be rapid. *Naves onerariae* were vessels of burden ('tenders') which accompanied ships of war with provisions and other supplies.

[10] He uses the plural, apparently because he is thinking of the land-forces as divided into horse and foot.

[11] We might also have had *milium*, on the principle explained in note 8, above.

[12] 'Approach' here, not 'arrival.'

[13] 'To be aimed at, to be the objects of invasion.' The verb, *petere*, is often used of gladiators, 'to aim (a blow) at' a particular part of the body. Observe the personal construction *Athenienses dicerentur*. *Diceretur* might have been said, but the other construction is the more common. Compare *Gram.* § 246, note.

[14] In which they, almost unsupported by the other Greeks, had routed a Persian army. See *Miltiades*, chapters 4 and 5.

[15] Understand *legatos* or *homines*. The ancient writers often omit the object with verbs of sending, just as we say, 'I sent to ask.' As to Delphi and the Pythia, see *Miltiades*, 1, p. 4, n. 6, and p. 5, n. 2.

rebus suis. Deliberantibus Pythia respondit, ut[1] moenibus ligneis se munirent. Id responsum quo valeret[2] cum intelligeret nemo, Themistocles persuasit[3] consilium esse Apollinis, ut[4] in naves se suaque conferrent: eum enim a deo significari murum ligneum. Tali[5] consilio probato, addunt ad superiores[6] totidem naves triremes, suaque omnia, quae moveri poterant,[7] partim Salamina,[8] partim Troezena, deportant; arcem[9] sacerdotibus paucisque majoribus natu[10] ac sacra procuranda tradunt, reliquum oppidum[11] relinquunt.

3. Hujus[12] consilium plerisque civitatibus displicebat, et in terra dimicari magis placebat. Itaque missi sunt delecti cum Leonida, Lacedaemoniorum rege, qui Thermopylas[13] occuparent, longiusque barbaros progredi non paterentur.[14] Hi vim hostium non sustinuerunt, eoque loco omnes

[1] *Respondere* is here construed with *ut*, because it implies exhorting or desiring. *Gram.* § 375. It is generally followed by the accusative with the infinitive.

[2] 'To what it tended,' 'what it meant.' Another account is, that several understood the meaning of the oracle regarding the wooden walls, but were perplexed by another part of the answer; and that Themistocles expounded the whole.

[3] Namely, *civibus*.

[4] As to *consilium ut*, see *Gram.* § 352, note 1, end.

[5] *Talis* seems to be used here in the sense of *hic*, as it is once or twice elsewhere in Nepos.

[6] See the beginning of this chapter.

[7] The expression *sua omnia, quae moveri poterant*, is employed here in a very wide sense, including women and children, as well as goods.

[8] Salamis, now Coluri, an island off Attica, in the Saronic Gulf: Troezen, or Troezene, now Damala, a town of Argolis in Peloponnesus. As to the Greek accusative, see *Milt.* 4, p. 9, n. 6.

[9] The *arx* of Athens was the Acropolis, a precipitous hill on which stood a celebrated temple of the goddess Athene (Ἀθήνη) (identified by the Romans with their divinity Minerva.) The word *arcem* is oddly separated from *ac sacra procuranda*, which are construed with it, the *sacra* being those of Athene.

[10] *Major natu*, properly, 'greater by birth, or in age'—that is, an older or elderly man.

[11] 'The rest of the town.' As to *oppidum*, see *Milt.* 4, p. 9, n. 7: *reliquum oppidum* is said on the same principle as *summus mons*, 'the highest part of the mountain.' *Gram.* § 316; *Elem. Gram.* 329.

[12] That is, *Themistoclis*. The plan alluded to is that of making the war a naval one.

[13] A narrow defile in the south-east of Thessaly, almost the only passage into Southern Greece. The name lit. signif. 'hot gates,' so designated from the hot springs between the two narrow passes.

[14] The more regular mode of expression for *longiusque—non paterentur*, would be *neque longius paterentur*. The author, in writing longiusque, probably intended to employ an affirmative verb, prohiberent.

interierunt.[1] At classis communis Graeciae trecentarum navium,[2] in qua[3] ducentae erant Atheniensium, primum apud Artemisium,[4] inter Euboeam continentemque terram, cum classiariis regis conflixit. Angustias enim Themistocles quaerebat, ne multitudine circuiretur.[5] Hic etsi pari proelio[6] discesserant, tamen eodem loco non sunt ausi manere, quod erat periculum ne, si pars navium adversariorum[7] Euboeam superasset,[8] ancipiti premerentur periculo.[9] Quo factum est ut ab Artemisio discederent, et exadversum[10] Athenas apud Salamina classem suam constituerent.

4. At Xerxes, Thermopylis expugnatis, protinus accessit astu,[11] idque, nullis defendentibus, interfectis sacerdotibus, quos in arce invenerat, incendio delevit. Cujus fama perterriti classiarii cum manere non auderent, et plurimi

1 This is not accurate. Leonidas and his men did maintain their ground against all the power of the Persians, till, by a treacherous Greek, a mountain path was shewn to the enemy, by which a body of troops was led over to come upon the rear of the Greeks. It is not true, as we should infer from Nepos, that all whom Leonidas took with him to Thermopylae perished. Before the last engagement, when he learned that he was betrayed, he sent away the great body of his forces, retaining only his own Spartans—the renowned Three Hundred—and a few allies. Some of these allies survived the fight.

2 Observe that *classis* governs here two genitives, *Graeciae* and *navium.* Translate thus: 'the common fleet of (belonging to) Greece, consisting of 300 ships.' *Gram.* § 276, note 4.

3 Referring to *classis*. *In quibus*, referring to *navium*, would perhaps have been more natural.

4 'Off, or near Artemisium,' a promontory in the north of Euboea.

5 The *m* of *circumeo* and its derivatives is often omitted, or, in grammatical language, elided.

6 'The battle being equal'—that is, neither party having gained any decided advantage. *Aequo Marte* is the more common phrase.

7 *Adversarius*, though here used for *hostis*, is properly 'an opponent in a court of justice.'

8 Not 'conquered,' but 'passed round,' 'doubled,' as frequently.

9 The technical expression in English for being exposed at once to a foe in front and in rear, is 'to be between two fires.' The fear of the Greeks was that a portion of the Persian fleet might sail round the island and come up the strait, to attack them in the rear. The repetition of the same word in *erat periculum ne—premerentur periculo*, indicates careless composition.

10 A strange compound, which occurs rarely. Its meaning is 'over-against,' 'vis-à-vis.' As to Salamis, see chapter 2, p. 19, n. 8.

11 The Latin form of the Greek word ἄστυ, 'a city,' applied by pre-eminence to Athens. Compare *Milt.* 4, p. 9, n. 7. The construction of *accedere* with the simple accusative, instead of *ad*, or the dative, should not be imitated.

hortarentur, ut domos[1] suas discederent moenibusque se defenderent, Themistocles unus restitit, et universos pares esse posse[2] aiebat, dispersos testabatur[3] perituros; idque Eurybiadi, regi[4] Lacedaemoniorum, qui tum summae imperii praeerat, fore affirmabat.[5] Quem cum minus quam vellet[6] moveret, noctu de servis suis quem habuit fidelissimum ad regem[7] misit, ut ei nunciaret suis verbis[8] adversarios ejus in fuga esse. Qui si discessissent, majore cum labore et longinquiore tempore bellum confecturum, cum singulos consectari cogeretur; quos si[9] statim aggrederetur, brevi universos oppressurum. Hoc eo valebat[10] ut ingratis ad depugnandum omnes cogerentur. Hac re audita, barbarus, nihil doli subesse credens, postridie alienissimo[11] sibi loco, contra opportunissimo hostibus, adeo angusto mari conflixit, ut ejus multitudo navium explicari non potuerit.[12] Victus ergo est magis etiam consilio[13] Themistocli quam armis Graeciae.

5. Hic[14] etsi male rem gesserat,[15] tamen tantas habebat

1 *Domum* is 'home,' 'homeward,' and the plural, *domos*, is used in speaking of a number of persons who have different homes. See *Gram.* § 257, note 4.

2 'That, if they kept together, they could be a match (for the Persians.') The word *universos* (as also *dispersos*) is, in fact, the conditional member (*protasis*) of a hypothetical sentence, since it involves an 'if.' The other member (*apodosis*) is (*Graecos*) *pares esse posse.*

3 *Testor*, though properly, 'I bear witness,' which cannot be said of anything future, is also used in the sense of 'I declare, or assert solemnly,' which is its force here.

4 This is an error. Eurybiades was not king.

5 Observe the variety of expression—*aiebat*, *testabatur*, *affirmabat.*

6 As to this subjunctive, see *Gram.* § 348, with note.

7 That is, the Persian king, Xerxes.

8 'In his (Themistocles's) name.' The slave was to say that the words he used were those of his master—that is, that it was by him he was commissioned to give the king the information.

9 *Quos si* is equivalent to *sed si eos.* The relative pronoun not unfrequently involves an adversative particle.

10 *Eo valebat*, 'tended to this, had for its object.' The real purpose of Themistocles in this proceeding was to force the Greeks to fight the matter out, to bring the struggle to an issue (*ad depugnandum*), even against their will. *Omnes* is used in the same sense as *universi* above, 'while all together.'

11 'Most disadvantageous.' *Alienus* is often used in this sense.

12 As to the perfect, see *Milt.* 5, p. 11, n. 8.

13 *Consilium*, as a quality, is 'prudence,' 'sagacity.' As to the form, *Themistocli*, see chapter 1, note 1.

14 Xerxes, the subject of *victus est* in the preceding sentence.

15 In the phrase, *male rem gerere*, *male* may mean either 'unskilfully'

reliquias copiarum, ut etiamtum his opprimere posset hostes. Interim[1] ab eodem gradu depulsus est. Nam Themistocles, verens ne bellare perseveraret, certiorem eum fecit[2] id agi,[3] ut pons, quem ille in Hellesponto fecerat,[4] dissolveretur, ac reditu in Asiam excluderetur,[5] idque ei persuasit.[6] Itaque qua[7] sex mensibus iter fecerat, eadem minus diebus triginta[8] in Asiam reversus est;[9] seque a Themistocle non superatum, sed conservatum judicavit. Sic unius viri prudentia Graecia liberata est, Europaeque succubuit Asia. Haec altera victoria,[10] quae cum Marathonio possit comparari tropaeo.[11] Nam pari modo apud Salamina parvo

or 'unsuccessfully, unfortunately.' Although Xerxes did manage his forces unskilfully, still, as we see from what follows, it is to his defeat and loss of men that the writer here refers.

[1] *Interim* seems here to have the sense of 'however.' This use of it should not be imitated. *Ab eodem* does not belong to *gradu*, but means, 'by the same man (Themistocles.') It has been objected to this mode of construing, that the name *Themistocles* occurs immediately after. But this is easily accounted for. Nepos felt that he might become obscure, did he write on without bringing a definite subject before the reader, and therefore he gave the name. The metaphorical expression, *gradu depulsus est*, is taken from the fighting of gladiators. At the commencement of a combat, each gladiator assumed a certain *gradus*, 'posture, position,' of course as favourable as possible. Soon, however, the one combatant forced the other from this position (*depulit gradu.*)

[2] *Certiorem facere* is a common expression, 'to inform.'

[3] 'That it was in contemplation, or under discussion.' *Res agitur*, 'a thing is in agitation,' as well as 'is being done.'

[4] The indicative shews the relative clause to be merely introduced by Nepos himself, not a part of Themistocles's communication. In fact, we may easily imagine that the frightened monarch was not long in comprehending what was meant. *Agitur, ut pons dissolvatur*, would be quite sufficient for him. See *Gram.* § 361; *Elem. Gram.* 361.

[5] The subject is suddenly changed. *Pons* is the subject of *dissolveretur*, the king himself of *excluderetur*. We should have expected an *ipse*.

[6] Observe that the Latin idiom is *aliquid alicui persuadere*, 'to persuade a thing to a person;' whereas ours is, 'to persuade a person of a thing.'

[7] Supply *via*.

[8] Other authors say 45.

[9] The form of the perfect of this verb is almost always active, *reverti*. *Reversus sum* occurs very rarely.

[10] *Est* is omitted. This is not uncommon.

[11] *Quae cum Marathonia (victoria) possit comparari*, would have been more consistent. *Tropaeum*, properly, 'a trophy,' the sign of victory, is here used poetically for 'victory' itself.

numero navium[1] maxima post hominum memoriam[2] classis est devicta.

6. Magnus hoc bello Themistocles fuit, neque minor in pace. Cum enim Phalerico portu,[3] neque magno neque bono, Athenienses uterentur, hujus consilio triplex Piraeei[4] portus constitutus est, isque[5] moenibus circumdatus, ut ipsam urbem dignitate aequipararet,[6] utilitate superaret. Idem muros Atheniensium restituit praecipuo suo periculo.[7] Namque Lacedaemonii causam idoneam nacti propter barbarorum excursiones, qua negarent oportere extra Peloponnesum ullam urbem habere,[8] ne essent loca munita quae hostes possiderent, Athenienses aedificantes prohibere sunt conati. Hoc longe alio spectabat atque videri volebant.[9] Athenienses enim duabus victoriis, Marathonia et Salaminia, tantam gloriam apud omnes gentes erant consecuti, ut intelligerent Lacedaemonii de principatu[10] sibi cum his certamen fore. Quare eos quam infirmissimos esse volebant. Postquam

[1] Nepos is not very happy in his mode of conducting the comparison here. The similarity between the battles of Marathon and Salamis consists merely in the fact, that a small body defeated great numbers. The ships belong only to the engagement at Salamis. The young student will find it a good exercise to write out this comparison in full, supplying the points not expressly mentioned here regarding the battle of Marathon.

[2] This phrase does not mean 'within the memory of man,' but 'since men began to record events.' Translate therefore thus: 'of which history has left any record.'

[3] The harbour of Phalerum, on the coast, in the immediate neighbourhood of Athens, with which it was connected by the Phalerian Wall.

[4] The Piraeeus, or Piraeus, was the chief harbour of Athens. It was north of Phalerum, and consisted of three basins; hence *triplex*.

[5] The pronoun here is superfluous.

[6] Another spelling is *aequiperaret*, analogous to *vitupero*. *Dignitas* is 'splendour,' that which excites admiration.

[7] The events now to be related occurred in the year 478 B.C., two years after the battle of Salamis.

[8] *Urbem* is the subject of *habere*. As object we must supply *muros* from the preceding sentence. This is a harsh ellipsis.

[9] 'This proceeding tended to an object very different from what they wished to appear.'

[10] 'For (about, in regard to) the supreme command.' Previous to this time, whenever the Greeks had occasion to unite in arms against a common foe, the Spartans were the recognised leaders, the chiefs of the confederacy. They were now afraid that the Athenians might obtain this position. *Mihi cum aliquo certamen erit*, 'a struggle shall be to me with a person'—that is, 'I shall have to struggle with him.'

autem audierunt[1] muros instrui, legatos Athenas miserunt, qui id fieri vetarent.[2] His praesentibus desierunt, ac se de ea re legatos ad eos[3] missuros dixerunt. Hanc legationem suscepit Themistocles, et solus primo profectus est; reliqui legati ut tum exirent, cum satis altitudo muri exstructa videretur,[4] praecepit:[5] interim omnes, servi atque liberi, opus facerent,[6] neque ulli loco parcerent, sive sacer esset sive profanus, sive privatus sive publicus, et undique quod idoneum ad muniendum putarent congererent. Quo factum est, ut Atheniensium muri ex sacellis sepulcrisque constarent.[7]

7. Themistocles autem, ut Lacedaemonem venit, adire ad magistratus[8] noluit, et dedit operam, ut quam longissime tempus duceret,[9] causam interponens se collegas expectare. Cum[10] Lacedaemonii quererentur opus nihilo minus fieri, eumque in ea re conari fallere, interim reliqui legati sunt consecuti. A quibus cum audisset non multum superesse munitionis,[11] ad ephoros Lacedaemoniorum accessit, penes

[1] Observe that it is *postquam audierunt*, not *postquam audiverant*. *Gram.* § 334; *Elem. Gram.* 338.

[2] *Gram.* § 360, 1; *Elem. Gram.* 360, 1.

[3] That is, *ad Lacedaemonios*.

[4] In more simple Latin, *cum satis alte murus exstructus esse videretur*. Nepos's construction is somewhat poetical.

[5] Not so strong as 'commanded;' rather 'urged.'

[6] 'Should engage in constructing the wall.' *Opus* is often used for 'a building.' The subjunctive here represents the imperative of the direct speech. *Gram.* § 388, note 2; *Elem. Gram.* 362, end.

[7] 'Consisted,' of course only to some extent. The fact that the Athenians, notwithstanding their deep religious feeling, spared on this occasion neither the tombs of their fathers nor the chapels of their deities, shews us at once the importance of the crisis and the determination of the Greek character, when thoroughly roused.

[8] That is, the *ephori*. They were five in number, elected annually, and had so great power as to control even the kings.

[9] 'Protract, spin out, the time.' *Tempus ducere* occurs less frequently than the expression, *rem* (*bellum*, or the like) *ducere*, which is logically more correct.

[10] There is nothing here implied in *cum* but time, as we see from the following *interim*, and yet the verb is in the subjunctive. So fond were the Latins of construing *cum* with the subjunctive, that wherever *cum* is to be followed by the imperfect or pluperfect, the mood may be the subjunctive. Compare *Gram.* § 355, with notes; *Elem. Gram.* 354.

[11] 'Of the work of fortification.'

quos summum erat imperium, atque apud eos contendit[1] falsa his[2] esse delata: quare aequum esse[3] illos viros bonos nobilesque mittere, quibus fides haberetur, qui rem explorarent; interea se obsidem retinerent.[4] Gestus est ei mos,[5] tresque legati, functi summis honoribus, Athenas missi sunt. Cum his collegas suos Themistocles jussit proficisci, hisque praedixit,[6] ut ne prius Lacedaemoniorum legatos dimitterent, quam ipse esset remissus.[7] Hos postquam Athenas pervenisse ratus est, ad magistratum[8] senatumque Lacedaemoniorum adiit, et apud eos liberrime professus est: Athenienses suo consilio, quod communi jure gentium facere possent, deosque publicos suosque patrios ac penates,[9] quo facilius ab hoste possent defendere, muris saepsisse; neque in eo,[10] quod inutile esset Graeciae, fecisse: nam illorum

1 'Maintained,' 'declared stoutly.' The essential idea of this verb is 'straining' exertion.

2 *His* for *iis* (*ephoris*.) Nepos is fond of the pronoun *hic*.

3 *Quare* being equivalent to *et eam ob rem*, the infinitive construction, not the subjunctive, follows. See *Gram.* § 386. Construe thus: *aequum esse illos* (that is, *ephoros*) *mittere bonos nobilesque viros*. *Aequum est ut* is the more common construction.

4 In direct speech, this would be the imperative. See p. 24, n. 6.

5 *Morem gerere alicui*, literally, 'to carry a manner for a person,' 'to suit one's behaviour to a person's wishes;' that is, 'to humour,' 'gratify.' There is also a single verb, *morigerari*, quite classical, in use, but *morem gerere* is the more usual expression.

6 Not 'foretold,' but 'enjoined,' as pretty frequently. Hence the construction with *ut ne*. See *Gram.* § 352, n. 2. Other historians tell us that the colleagues of Themistocles remained at Lacedaemon with him, and that he sent these directions to Athens by a messenger.

7 Observe the accuracy of the Latins in the use of their tenses, *ut ne—dimitterent, prius quam ipse esset remissus*. This latter event is to precede the former, and therefore the pluperfect is used. *Gram.* § 363, 2.

8 *Magistratus*, properly, 'a magistracy,' then 'the person invested with a magistracy,' 'a magistrate,' is here used in a collective sense, 'the magistrates,' 'body of magistrates.' Those alluded to are the *ephori*. The *senatus*, or high council of the Spartans, called the *gerusia* (γερουσία), consisted of thirty members, who held office for life; whereas the *ephori* were elected annually.

9 The *dii publici* are the gods worshipped throughout Greece; the *patrii*, those to whom special honour was paid at Athens—as, for example, Athena, the tutelary goddess of the city; and the *penates*, those of the individual houses. *Que—que* is a mode of connection almost exclusively poetical.

10 'Therein, in so doing.'

urbem ut propugnaculum oppositum[1] esse barbaris, apud quam[2] jam bis classes regias fecisse naufragium: Lacedaemonios autem male et injuste facere, qui id potius intuerentur, quod ipsorum dominationi, quam quod universae Graeciae[3] utile esset. Quare, si suos legatos recipere vellent, quos Athenas miserant,[4] se remitterent,[5] aliter illos nunquam in patriam recepturi.[6]

8. Tamen non effugit civium suorum invidiam. Namque ob eundem timorem, quo damnatus erat Miltiades,[7] testularum suffragiis[8] e civitate ejectus, Argos[9] habitatum con-

[1] Properly, *oppositam*, agreeing with *urbem*, but the verb is drawn to the noun *propugnaculum*, which is nearest. Compare *Gram.* § 232, 3; *Elem. Gram.* 252, end.

[2] 'Near which.' This is simply equivalent to 'and that near it;' hence the accusative with the infinitive. *Gram.* § 386. Compare p. 25, n. 3. *Naufragium facere* means here, as occasionally, 'to be defeated in a sea-fight,' not, as commonly, 'to suffer shipwreck.' The statement is not strictly accurate, since the battle of Marathon, one of those alluded to, was on land.

[3] Had the sentence been properly balanced, there would have been some such word as *saluti*, in antithesis to *dominationi*.

[4] The indicative shews this clause to be merely one thrown in by the writer for the sake of explanation, not a part of Themistocles's address.

[5] In direct speech, *me remittite*. See p. 24, n. 6.

[6] This clause is a good illustration of the terseness of expression which the free use of the participles gives in Latin. *Recepturi* agrees with the subject of *remitterent*, and the clause from *aliter* to *recepturi* is, in fact, a full hypothetical sentence, which may be thus rendered: 'for, if they acted otherwise, they were never about to receive (that is, would never receive) them (their own ambassadors) back to their native country.'

[7] See *Milt.* 8, beginning.

[8] 'By the votes of the shells.' When an Athenian citizen became so powerful that his presence was considered as inconsistent with the safety of the republic, he was *ostracised*—that is, banished by the votes of the people, given in on shells or small potsherds. When six thousand shells were given in with a man's name, he had to leave Attica. This mode of expulsion was called ὀστρακισμός, from ὄστρακον, 'a shell' or 'potsherd.' The word *suffragium* takes its sense of 'a vote' from this ancient mode of voting with pieces of tile or potsherd. Being derived from *sub* and *frango*, it means properly, 'a broken piece' of anything.

[9] The chief town of the district of Argolis, in Peloponnesus. The form here may be considered either as the accusative singular from the neuter *Argos*, or the accusative plural from the masculine *Argi*, both numbers being in use.

cessit. Hic cum propter multas ejus[1] virtutes magna cum[2] dignitate viveret, Lacedaemonii legatos Athenas miserunt, qui eum absentem accusarent, quod societatem cum rege Persarum ad Graeciam opprimendam fecisset. Hoc crimine[3] absens proditionis damnatus est. Id ut audivit, quod non satis tutum se Argis videbat, Corcyram[4] demigravit. Ibi cum ejus[5] principes animadvertisset timere, ne propter se[6] bellum his Lacedaemonii et Athenienses indicerent, ad Admetum, Molossum[7] regem, cum quo ei hospitium fuerat,[8] confugit. Huc cum venisset, et in praesentia rex abesset, quo majore religione se receptum tueretur, filiam[9] ejus parvulam arripuit, et cum ea se in sacrarium, quod summa colebatur caerimonia,[10] conjecit. Inde non prius egressus est quam rex eum, data dextra, in fidem reciperet;[11] quam

[1] Properly *suas*, since the pronoun refers to the subject of the clause. Indeed, there is no need of a pronoun here. The *ejus* may be accounted for by supposing that the author intended to finish the clause with a verb having a different subject; thus: *cum—cives eum magnopere honorarent.*

[2] *Cum* is pleonastic. *Gram.* § 293; *Elem. Gram.* 306.

[3] *Crimen* often means 'accusation' (especially when unfounded.) The word *absentem* is used in the preceding sentence, and we have *absens* here, for Nepos dwells upon the fact, that Themistocles was absent, in order the more to excite our sympathy in his favour. This condemnation probably took place in the year 466 B.C.

[4] See chapter 2, p. 17, n. 8.

[5] That is, *Corcyrae.*

[6] Referring to Themistocles, the subject of *animadvertisset*, the verb of the governing clause. *His* refers to the *principes.*

[7] For *Molossorum.* *Gram.* § 58, n. 5. The Molossians were a tribe in Epirus, the district on the mainland opposite Corcyra.

[8] 'With whom he had formerly been connected by the bond of hospitality.' When a *hospitium*, or bond of hospitality, was formed between two parties, it was understood as placing them under an obligation to serve each other by every means in their power. The connection was one of the most sacred kind, and was under the special guardianship of the king of the gods. It generally continued until the death of those who had formed it, and even between their children; but under certain circumstances it could be broken, and there is reason to suppose that that between Themistocles and Admetus had been dissolved; otherwise there should have been no necessity for the precautions which the former took to secure a safe reception at the Molossian court.

[9] The child of Admetus is said by other authors to have been a boy.

[10] 'Religious veneration.' *Se conjicere*, properly, 'to throw one's self'—that is, 'to hurry,' 'flee hastily.'

[11] 'Received him into faith'—that is, 'took him under the shelter of a promise,' 'promised to save him.'

praestitit. Nam cum[1] ab Atheniensibus et Lacedaemoniis exposceretur publice, supplicem non prodidit, monuitque, ut consuleret sibi: difficile enim esse[2] in tam propinquo loco tuto eum versari. Itaque Pydnam[3] eum deduci jussit, et quod satis esset praesidii[4] dedit. Hic[5] in navem, omnibus ignotus nautis, escendit. Quae cum tempestate maxima Naxum[6] ferretur, ubi tum Atheniensium erat exercitus, sensit Themistocles, si eo pervenisset, sibi esse pereundum. Hac necessitate coactus, domino navis qui[7] sit aperit, multa pollicens, si se conservasset. At ille, clarissimi viri captus misericordia, diem noctemque procul ab insula in salo[8] navem tenuit in ancoris, neque quemquam ex ea exire passus est. Inde Ephesum[9] pervenit, ibique Themistoclen exponit; cui ille pro meritis postea gratiam retulit.[10]

9. Scio plerosque ita scripsisse, Themistoclen Xerxe regnante[11] in Asiam transisse. Sed ego potissimum Thucydidi[12] credo, quod aetate proximus erat de his,[13] qui illorum

[1] *Cum* here implies both 'when' and 'although.'

[2] From *monuit* supply the idea of *dixit.*

[3] A town on the east coast of Macedonia.

[4] As to *quod praesidii*, see *Gram.* § 275, *a.* The subjunctive *esset* is used to represent the sentiment as that of Admetus; 'was, in his opinion, or, as he said, sufficient.'

[5] That is, Themistocles. *In navem escendere* is much less common than *navem* or *in navem conscendere.*

[6] One of the islands called Cyclades, in the Aegean Sea.

[7] Properly *quis*, but in the masculine the two forms are often interchanged. *Gram.* § 118; *Elem. Gram.* 108.

[8] *Salum* sometimes means 'the open sea,' sometimes 'a roadstead.' Here, from the fact that the ship was anchored, it must be taken in the latter sense. *Procul* need not mean absolutely 'far off,' but relatively, 'further off than usual' (for the ancient mariners loved, wherever it was practicable, to 'lie' or creep along near the shore)—that is, 'at some distance.'

[9] A noble city of Lydia, in Asia Minor. *Themistoclen* is a Greek form of the accusative. *Gram.* § 70, 2.

[10] 'Gave a recompense.' *Gratiam referre* is 'to shew gratitude by deeds,' 'to recompense;' *gratiam habere*, 'to feel gratitude;' *gratias* or *grates agere*, 'to express gratitude,' 'return thanks.'

[11] The emphasis is on the words *Xerxe regnante;* 'that it was in the reign of Xerxes that Themistocles . . . .'

[12] One of the most eminent Greek historians, distinguished for his keen sagacity and accuracy of judgment. He was born in the year 471 B.C., and died about 401. His work is a history of the Peloponnesian war; and in stating the causes of the ill-feeling which existed between the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, he was naturally led to give a sketch of the life of Themistocles.

[13] *De his* is equivalent to *ex his*, 'of those.'

temporum historiam reliquerunt, et ejusdem civitatis[1] fuit. Is[2] autem ait, ad Artaxerxen eum venisse, atque his verbis epistolam misisse: 'Themistocles veni ad te, qui plurima mala hominum Graiorum[3] in domum[4] tuam intuli, quamdiu mihi necesse fuit adversum patrem tuum bellare, patriamque meam defendere. Idem[5] multo plura bona feci, postquam in tuto[6] ipse et ille in periculo esse coepit. Nam cum in Asiam reverti vellet, proelio apud Salamina facto, litteris eum certiorem feci id agi,[7] ut pons, quem in Hellesponto fecerat, dissolveretur, atque ab hostibus circumiretur;[8] quo nuncio ille periculo est liberatus. Nunc autem confugi ad te, exagitatus a cuncta Graecia, tuam petens amicitiam. Quam si ero adeptus, non minus me bonum amicum habebis, quam fortem inimicum ille expertus est. Ea autem rogo, ut de[9] his rebus quas tecum colloqui volo annuum mihi tempus des, eoque transacto, ad te venire patiaris.'[10]

1 'Of the same state' as Themistocles—was an Athenian. The slight confusion of tenses in *erat* and *fuit* is an accidental slip, occasioned by the relative clause coming between.

2 That is, Thucydides. *Autem*, as frequently, indicates mere transition, our 'now.' We see from the prominent position which the words *ad Artaxerxen* occupy in the dependent part of the sentence, that it is upon them the emphasis rests; 'that it was to Artaxerxes—not, as most writers stated, to his father Xerxes—that he (Themistocles) went.' This Artaxerxes, the son and immediate successor of Xerxes, is known by the surname of Longimanus, 'the Long-handed,' to distinguish him from two of his successors, Artaxerxes Mnemon, and Artaxerxes Ochus. As to the form *Artaxerxen*, see chapter 8, p. 28, n. 9.

3 *Graiorum* for *Graecorum*. See *Praefatio*, p. 2, n. 1.

4 'Family,' as often.

5 *Idem*, properly, 'I the same man,' may be rendered here by 'but I also.' *Idem* is very frequently used by the Latins, when more than one thing is said (predicated) of the same subject, whether the relation of these predicates to each other be that of conjunction, 'and also,' or of disjunction, 'but yet.'

6 From the neuter *tutum*, 'a safe state,' 'safety.' *Coepi*, verb to *ipse*, must be taken out of *coepit*, which agrees with the subject nearest to it. *Gram.* § 239, *a*, note.

7 See chapter 5, p. 22, n. 3.

8 The subject of this second verb is not *pons*, but *ipse*, 'he himself,' understood.

9 *De* has the force here of *quod attinet ad*, 'with regard to.' *Quas colloqui volo* for *de quibus colloqui volo* is a construction not to be imitated.

10 Supply *me* to *patiaris* from the preceding *mihi*.

10. Hujus[1] rex animi magnitudinem admirans, cupiensque talem virum sibi conciliari, veniam dedit. Ille omne illud tempus litteris sermonique[2] Persarum se dedidit; quibus adeo eruditus est, ut multo commodius dicatur apud regem verba fecisse, quam ii poterant, qui in Perside erant nati.[3] Hic cum multa regi esset pollicitus, gratissimumque illud,[4] si suis uti consiliis vellet, illum[5] Graeciam bello oppressurum, magnis muneribus ab Artaxerxe donatus, in Asiam rediit, domiciliumque Magnesiae[6] sibi constituit. Namque hanc urbem ei rex donarat, his quidem verbis: quae[7] ei panem[8] praeberet (ex qua regione quinquaginta talenta quotannis redibant); Lampsacum autem, unde vinum sumeret; Myunta, ex qua opsonium haberet. Hujus ad nostram memoriam monumenta manserunt duo:[9] sepulcrum prope oppidum, in quo[10] est sepultus; statuae in foro Magnesiae. De cujus morte multimodis[11] apud plerosque scriptum est; sed nos eundem potissimum Thucydidem auctorem probamus, qui illum ait Magnesiae morbo mortuum, neque negat fuisse famam, venenum sua sponte sumpsisse, cum se, quae regi de Graecia opprimenda pollicitus esset, praestare posse desperaret. Idem ossa ejus clam in Attica ab amicis sepulta,

[1] *Hujus* is equivalent to *Themistoclis*, and is governed by *animi*. *Gram.* § 276, n. 4.

[2] Equivalent to *linguae*.

[3] This is obviously an absurd exaggeration. Themistocles learned Persic as thoroughly as a man of great ability and great powers of application could do in one year—that is to say, he could speak it with tolerable ease, and with freedom from gross grammatical blunders.

[4] 'The following thing.' *Ille* often has this sense.

[5] That is, Artaxerxes.

[6] A town of Lydia, near the mouth of the river Maeander. Lampsacus was a town in Mysia, and Myus in Caria, at the mouth of the Maeander. Asia, in the preceding clause, is Asia Minor, or, more particularly, the western and central districts, which afterwards formed the Roman province of Asia.

[7] That is, *ut ea*, the king's words given indirectly.

[8] *Panis* here seems to mean not merely bread, but, bread being the staff of life, substantial food generally; whereas *opsonium* is fish, or anything eaten along with solid food, to give it a relish.

[9] In English, the connection requires a 'namely' after this.

[10] *In quo* belong to *sepulcrum*. *Oppidum* is Athens, 'the town' by pre-eminence. See *Milt.* 4, p. 9, n. 7. As to the *sepulcrum* of Themistocles, see end of this chapter. It was near the Piraeus.

[11] A curt colloquial expression for *multis modis*. *Apud plerosque*, 'in very many authors,' a common meaning of this preposition.

quoniam[1] legibus non concederetur, quod proditionis esset damnatus, memoriae prodidit.

[1] The *quoniam* gives the reason why the bones were buried *clam*. There is great uncertainty regarding the chronology of some parts of the history of Themistocles; it seems probable, however, that he died within a very few years after his flight to Persia.

III. ARISTIDES.

1. ARISTIDES, Lysimachi filius, Atheniensis, aequalis[1] fere fuit Themistocli. Itaque[2] cum eo de principatu contendit: namque obtrectarunt[3] inter se. In his[4] autem cognitum est, quanto antestaret eloquentia innocentiae.[5] Quamquam enim adeo excellebat Aristides abstinentia, ut unus post hominum memoriam, quod quidem nos audierimus,[6] cognomine Justus[7] sit appellatus, tamen, a Themistocle collabefactus[8] testula illa, exilio decem annorum multatus est. Qui quidem, cum intelligeret reprimi concitatam multitudinem non posse,[9] cedensque[10] animadvertisset quendam scribentem, ut patria

[1] 'Equal in age,' as frequently.

[2] *Itaque* refers to an idea implied in the preceding sentence: 'two men, endowed with great political talents, and about the same age, lived in Athens.'

[3] *Obtrectare*, which often means 'to slander,' 'calumniate,' must here be taken in a middle sense, 'to maintain an opposition,' whether by fair means or otherwise. We cannot think of Aristides condescending to slander his rival.

[4] 'In the case of these men.' *In aliquo*, 'in the case of a person,' is a common mode of expression.

[5] 'Purity of character.' *Abstinentia* is 'freedom from covetousness,' and always has reference to the object from which one restrains himself.

[6] As to *quod quidem audierimus*, 'so far at least as we have heard,' see *Gram.* § 360, 3, n. 2.

[7] In Greek, ὁ δίκαιος.

[8] A very strong word: the metaphor is taken from a building. As to *testula illa*, 'that notorious shell, or system of ostracism,' see *Themist.* p. 26, n. 8. *Ille* often means 'that well-known,' 'famous,' or 'notorious' person or thing.

[9] The metaphor is taken from a horse, which has been so infuriated by the spur that he will not obey the rein. Translate therefore: 'that the excited people could not be restrained.'

[10] 'As he was retiring'—that is, probably, as he was going home from the assembly of the people, to prepare for exile. The anecdote

pelleretur, quaesisse ab eo dicitur quare id faceret, aut quid Aristides commisisset, cur tanta poena dignus duceretur. Cui ille respondit, se ignorare[1] Aristiden, sed sibi non placere, quod tam cupide elaborasset ut praeter ceteros Justus appellaretur. Hic decem annorum legitimam poenam non pertulit. Nam postquam Xerxes in Graeciam descendit,[2] sexto fere anno quam[3] erat expulsus, populiscito in patriam restitutus est.

2. Interfuit autem pugnae navali apud Salamina,[4] quae facta est prius quam poena liberaretur. Idem praetor[5] fuit Atheniensium apud Plataeas in proelio, quo Mardonius fusus barbarorumque exercitus interfectus est. Neque aliud est ullum hujus[6] in re militari illustre factum, quam hujus imperii memoria, justitiae vero et aequitatis[7] et innocentiae

here related is given in a somewhat different manner by Plutarch, a Greek historian. According to him, a citizen who was unacquainted with the art of writing, happened to meet Aristides, and, being ignorant of his person, asked him to inscribe the name of Aristides upon a shell. When asked what harm Aristides had done him, he replied that he did not know him, but was displeased at hearing him on all sides distinguished by the epithet of 'the Just.' Aristides then quietly wrote the name on the shell, and returned it.

1 Equivalent here to *non nosse*, 'did not know by sight,' 'was unacquainted with the person of.' *Ignorare aliquem* in this sense is very rare. It sometimes occurs in the acceptation of 'to be ignorant of one's character.'

2 That is, in the year 480 B.C. The recall of Aristides must have taken place in the very end of the year, since, as we learn from the beginning of the next chapter, it was after the battle of Salamis, which was fought in autumn. He was ostracised probably in 485 B.C. *Descendere* is the proper word for an invasion of Greece by the Persian king, who 'comes down' from the interior of Asia. In the same way, an invasion of Persia by the Greeks—such, for instance, as that by Alexander the Great—is called in Greek an ἀνάβασις, 'ascent.'

3 *Post* is here omitted before *quam*. This is sometimes done with both *prius* and *post* when there can be no ambiguity. In the present instance the omission is desirable, since *postquam* occurs in the preceding clause.

4 See *Themist.* 3, 4.

5 As to the meaning of *praetor*, see *Milt.* 4, p. 9, n. 13. The battle alluded to was fought in 479 B.C. Plataeae, now Kokla, a town in the south of Boeotia. It may be remembered that this small state was the only one which shared with the Athenians the glory of the victory at Marathon. See *Milt.* 5. For *quo Mardonius fusus barbarorumque exercitus interfectus est*, the matter would be more accurately put thus, *quo Mardonius interfectus barbarorumque exercitus fusus est.*

6 That is, *Aristidis*. *Hujus imperii memoria* is used here illogically for the *imperium* itself, or rather for the *res gestae in hoc imperio*.

7 *Aequitas* here seems to mean 'moderation,' 'gentleness,' or 'fair-

multa, in primis quod ejus aequitate factum est, cum in communi classe esset Graeciae simul cum Pausania,[1] quo duce[2] Mardonius erat fugatus, ut summa imperii maritimi[3] ab Lacedaemoniis transferretur ad Athenienses. Namque ante id tempus et mari et terra duces erant Lacedaemonii. Tum autem et intemperantia[4] Pausaniae et justitia factum est Aristidis, ut omnes fere civitates[5] Graeciae ad Atheniensium societatem se applicarent, et adversus barbaros hos duces deligerent sibi, quo facilius[6] repellerent, si forte bellum renovare conarentur.

3. Ad classes aedificandas exercitusque comparandos quantum[7] pecuniae quaeque civitas daret, Aristides delectus est qui constitueret, ejusque arbitrio quadringena et sexagena[8] talenta quotannis Delum[9] sunt collata. Id enim commune aerarium esse voluerunt. Quae omnis pecunia[10] postero tempore Athenas translata est. Hic qua fuerit abstinentia, nullum est certius indicium quam quod, cum[11] tantis rebus praefuisset, in tanta paupertate decessit, ut qui efferretur

ness' towards others: it yields to others what is just, or due, from a sense of duty; *justitia* only what is legally due. As to *innocentia*, see chapter 1, p. 32, n. 5. It appears to refer here particularly to 'freedom from selfishness,' being thus equivalent to the *abstinentia* of chapter 1.

[1] In the year 477 B.C. As to the occasion of the expedition, see *Pausan.* 2, beginning.

[2] Equivalent to *quo imperante*. *Gram.* § 405, n. 2; *Elem. Gram.* 322.

[3] As to *summa imperii*, see *Milt.* 3, p. 8, n. 2; and as to the *principatus* of the Spartans, compare *Themist.* 6, p. 23, n. 10.

[4] 'Harsh, overbearing conduct,' the opposite of *aequitas*.

[5] All the maritime states engaged in the war, except the Peloponnesians.

[6] Not more easily perhaps, so far as the respective valour of the Athenians and Spartans was concerned, but assuredly more easily, with regard to the sacrifice of comfort and independence of spirit on the part of the subordinate states.

[7] This first clause with *quantum* is dependent on *qui constitueret*, which, again, is dependent on *Aristides delectus est*.

[8] Observe the use of the distributive numerals: so much money each year. *Gram.* § 106; *Elem. Gram.* 90. The sum is equal to about L.110,000.

[9] An island in the Aegean Sea, situated in the midst of the group called the Cyclades. It was said to have been the birthplace of Apollo and his sister Artemis, and, being thus invested with great sanctity, was a peculiarly safe repository for treasure.

[10] Illogical, since the author has mentioned merely the sum annually deposited in the treasury, whereas here the accumulated money is meant.

[11] For *etsi*, as we see from the sense, though no *tamen* follows.

vix reliquerit.[1] Quo factum est, ut filiae ejus publice[2] alerentur et de communi aerario dotibus datis collocarentur.[3] Decessit autem fere post annum quartum quam Themistocles Athenis erat expulsus.[4]

[1] 'That he scarcely left wherewith he might be buried'—that is, 'that he left scarcely so much money as to pay the expenses of his funeral.' *Qui* is the ablative: see *Gram.* § 117, note; *Elem. Gram.* 109, end. *Efferre*, 'to carry out,' is often used in the sense of 'to carry out to the grave,' 'to bury.'

[2] 'At the public expense.' On the Acropolis of Athens there was a building called the Prytaneum, in which those who had deserved well of their country were maintained at the public expense. The daughters of Aristides were classed among this number for the sake of their noble father.

[3] 'Were given in marriage,' as frequently.

[4] That is, about 468 B.C., Themistocles having been expelled in 471. See *Themist.* 8. As to *post annum quartum*, for *anno quarto post*, see *Gram.* § 308, n. 4; *Elem. Gram.* 274, end.

IV. PAUSANIAS.

1. PAUSANIAS Lacedaemonius magnus homo, sed varius[1] in omni genere vitae fuit. Nam ut virtutibus eluxit, sic vitiis est obrutus. Hujus illustrissimum[2] est proelium apud Plataeas.[3] Namque illo duce Mardonius, satrapes[4] regius, natione Medus,[5] regis gener, in primis omnium Persarum et manu fortis et consilii plenus,[6] cum ducentis milibus peditum, quos viritim[7] legerat, et viginti equitum, haud ita[8] magna

[1] 'Inconsistent,' 'fickle.' *Varius homo* is one who, having no settled principles, is swayed merely by the impulse of the moment, so as often to do contradictory things. *In omni genere vitae* is 'in all the positions of life' which he occupied.

[2] *Illustrissimum* is used substantively, 'his most illustrious action.'

[3] See *Aristides* 2, p. 33, n. 5. When Xerxes returned from Europe into Asia, he left Mardonius with a large army to continue the war. The allied Greeks, under the command of Pausanias (*duce* being here equivalent to *imperatore*, 'commander-in-chief'), completely defeated him at Plataeae in September, 479 B.C.

[4] The Persian empire was divided into large provinces, called satrapies. The governor of one of these bore the title of satrap—in Latin *satrapes*, *satrapa*, or *satraps*.

[5] Nepos is in error in calling him a Mede: we know from other historians that he was a Persian. Neither was he the son-in-law of Xerxes, as we should infer from the expression *regis gener*, but of Darius. It may be, however, that *gener* is used in the sense of 'a brother-in-law,' which it sometimes has, though not in the purest Latinity.

[6] 'Brave and prudent among the first of all the Persians'—that is, one of the most distinguished of the Persians for valour and prudence.

[7] This does not mean that he himself chose each single man. He adopted a plan which was often followed in ancient times to obtain an army of picked men: he himself selected a few whom he considered the best men; these, again, took the bravest men they knew; and so on.

[8] *Haud ita* is frequently employed in the sense of 'not very,' as in *haud ita multo post*, 'not very long after.' Here *haud ita magna manu* may be translated, 'by a comparatively small army.' The Greek army

manu Graeciae fugatus est, eoque ipse dux cecidit proelio.[1] Qua victoria elatus plurima miscere[2] coepit et majora concupiscere. Sed primum in eo est reprehensus, quod, cum ex praeda tripodem aureum Delphis posuisset,[3] epigrammate scripto, in quo haec erat sententia: suo ductu barbaros apud Plataeas esse deletos, ejusque victoriae ergo[4] Apollini donum dedisse. Hos versus Lacedaemonii exsculpserunt,[5] neque aliud scripserunt quam nomina earum civitatum, quarum auxilio Persae erant victi.

2. Post id proelium[6] eundem Pausaniam cum classe communi Cyprum atque Hellespontum miserunt, ut ex his regionibus barbarorum praesidia depelleret. Pari felicitate in ea re usus, elatius se gerere coepit majoresque appetere res. Nam cum, Byzantio[7] expugnato, cepisset complures Persarum nobiles, atque in his nonnullos regis propinquos, hos clam Xerxi remisit, simulans ex vinclis publicis effugisse,[8] et cum his Gongylum Eretriensem,[9] qui litteras regi

was comparatively small, but not absolutely, for it consisted of about a hundred thousand men.

[1] *Eoque—proelio.* An odd position of the words.

[2] 'To throw into confusion,' 'revolutionise,' a word often used of seditious proceedings.

[3] Nepos does not tell the story in such a way as to bring out clearly where the crime or the folly of Pausanias lay. The Greeks (not Pausanias, as *posuisset* would lead us to believe) dedicated from the Persian spoils a golden tripod to Apollo at Delphi. Upon this Pausanias caused to be engraved an arrogant couplet, wherein he ascribes all the glory to himself. The couplet has been preserved to us by Thucydides, and is to the following effect: 'Pausanias, leader of the Greeks, after destroying the host of the Persians, dedicated this memorial to Phoebus.' The lines were written for him by Simonides, a distinguished lyric poet of the island of Ceos. *Quod* has no verb. The author probably meant to go on with *epigramma scripsit*, but unthinkingly adopted a different construction. *Ponere* is the technical word for 'to dedicate to a god.'

[4] *Ergo*, in the sense of 'for the sake of,' 'on account of,' and governing a genitive, occurs but rarely, and chiefly in old law language. It stands after the substantive which it governs.

[5] *Exsculpere* usually means either 'to carve out' a thing, or figuratively, 'to elicit.' This is the only passage in which it occurs with the sense 'to erase'—a sense, however, very naturally suggested by the composition of the word.

[6] Two years after, in 477 B.C.

[7] Byzantium, a city of Thrace, at the south-western extremity of the Bosporus. It is the modern Constantinople, the capital of Turkey.

[8] Supply *eos* as subject to *effugisse.* As to *vincla publica*, compare *Milt.* 7, p. 14, n. 2.

[9] 'Of Eretria,' a town in the island of Euboea. To govern *Gongylum*

redderet, in quibus haec fuisse scripta Thucydides memoriae prodidit: 'Pausanias, dux Spartae, quos Byzanti ceperat postquam propinquos tuos cognovit,[1] tibi muneri misit, seque tecum affinitate conjungi cupit. Quare, si tibi videtur, des ei filiam tuam nuptum.[2] Id si feceris, et Spartam et ceteram Graeciam sub tuam potestatem, se adjuvante, te redacturum pollicetur. His de rebus si quid geri volueris, certum[3] hominem ad eum mittas face, cum quo colloquatur.' Rex, tot hominum salute tam sibi necessariorum magnopere gavisus, confestim cum epistola Artabazum[4] ad Pausaniam mittit, in qua eum collaudat; petit ne cui rei parcat ad ea efficienda, quae pollicetur:[5] si perfecerit, nullius rei a se repulsam laturum.[6] Hujus Pausanias voluntate cognita alacrior ad rem gerendam factus, in suspicionem cecidit Lacedaemoniorum. In quo facto[7] domum revocatus, accusatus capitis, absolvitur, multatur tamen pecunia; quam ob causam[8] ad classem remissus non est.

3. At ille post non multo sua sponte ad exercitum rediit, et ibi non callida sed dementi ratione[9] cogitata patefecit. Non enim mores patrios[10] solum, sed etiam cultum[11] vesti-

take the simple *misit* out of *remisit*. As to *qui redderet*, see *Gram.* § 360, 1; *Elem. Gram.* 360, 1.

[1] Construe thus: *postquam cognovit* (*eos*) *quos Byzanti ceperat* (*esse*) *tuos propinquos.* As to *Byzanti* for *Byzantii*, see *Gram.* § 58, n. 2; and as to *tibi muneri misit*, *Gram.* § 270; *Elem. Gram.* 289.

[2] The supine. See *Gram.* § 401, n. 1.

[3] 'Sure,' 'trustworthy.' As to the paraphrase *fac mittas* for the simple *mittas* or *mitte*, see *Gram.* § 369, n. 2. *Face* is an antiquated form for *fac*: *Gram.* § 143, note.

[4] A distinguished Persian, who had been engaged in the Greek war, and had escaped from Plataeae.

[5] 'Which he (Pausanias) promises.' *Pollicetur* is a slip for *polliceatur.*

[6] This is equivalent to a promise that he would give Pausanias his daughter in marriage.

[7] Equivalent to *dum haec facit.*

[8] Namely, the disgrace attending a conviction, even though it was of an offence not capital, and not thought worthy of any punishment more severe than a fine.

[9] 'Not in a skilful, but a mad manner.' He did not unfold his designs by degrees to a few chosen friends, but he at once began to conduct himself in such a manner that even every common soldier could see his Persian leanings.

[10] By becoming a dissipated, licentious, arrogant man.

[11] *Cultus* is a very comprehensive word, including all domestic arrangements—as food, clothing, household furniture, and the like—as contrasted with a state of nature. When coupled with another word, as it very often is, it includes all the other domestic arrangements

tumque mutavit. Apparatu regio[1] utebatur, veste Medica; satellites Medi et Aegyptii sequebantur; epulabatur more Persarum, luxuriosius quam qui aderant perpeti possent. Aditum petentibus conveniundi[2] non dabat, superbe respondebat, crudeliter imperabat. Spartam redire nolebat. Colonas, qui locus in agro Troade[3] est, se contulerat: ibi consilia cum patriae tum sibi inimica capiebat. Id postquam Lacedaemonii rescierunt, legatos cum clava[4] ad eum miserunt, in qua more illorum[5] erat scriptum: nisi domum reverteretur, se capitis eum damnaturos.[6] Hoc nuncio commotus, sperans se etiamtum pecunia et potentia instans periculum posse depellere, domum rediit. Huc ut venit, ab ephoris in vincla publica est conjectus. Licet enim legibus eorum cuivis ephoro hoc facere regi.[7] Hinc tamen se

besides that particularly specified. Thus, in *cultus victusque*, *cultus* means clothing and furniture; in *cultus vestitusque*, food and furniture. It may be translated generally by 'manner of life.'

[1] That is, such as was suitable only for a *rex barbarorum*. He had a right to all the modest *insignia* of Spartan royalty. See n. 7, below. Observe that in this description of Pausanias's conduct, for a length of time the imperfect is properly used. *Gram.* § 335; *Elem. Gram.* 339.

[2] Connect *aditum conveniundi*. The *conveniundi* is quite superfluous. As to *conveniundi* for *conveniendi*, see *Gram.* § 144; *Elem. Gram.* 135.

[3] 'In the district called the Troad:' the two substantives are in apposition, as in *flumen Rhodanus*, 'the river Rhone.' Troas was a district of Mysia, in Asia Minor. It contained the famous city of Troy.

[4] 'A secret letter.' The word *clava*, literally 'stick,' refers to a particular mode of secret communication employed by the Spartans. When a general went on an expedition, he received a small cylindrical staff (called σκυτάλη), of which the ephori had a duplicate. When they wished to send him secret orders, they rolled a strip of leather tightly round their staff in a spiral form, and wrote their orders upon it. When the leather was taken off, nothing could be seen but single letters or syllables. It was taken to the general, who rolled it upon his staff, when the words appeared again in intelligible order. The word σκυτάλη, properly, 'a staff,' comes naturally enough from the custom above described to mean 'a dispatch or message so written,' and *clava* is here used in this sense. It is a little surprising that Pausanias had a σκυτάλη at this time, seeing that he had returned to the army without command; but the probability is, that he had not resigned the one which he had received when first setting out.

[5] *More illorum* refers not to the nature of the message, but to the custom of sending dispatches written on the *clava*.

[6] More accurately, *se hostem eum judicaturos*, 'that they would declare him a public enemy.'

[7] Pausanias was not king, but, being guardian of his cousin Pleistarchus, son of Leonidas, he exercised the functions of king. *Legibus eorum* is rather a free colloquial style of speaking for *legibus Lacedaemoniorum*. The author has not mentioned the name of the nation for a

expedivit; neque eo magis carebat suspicione. Nam opinio manebat, eum cum rege[1] habere societatem. Est genus quoddam hominum, quod Hilotae vocatur,[2] quorum magna multitudo agros Lacedaemoniorum colit servorumque munere fungitur. Hos quoque sollicitare spe libertatis existimabatur.[3] Sed quod harum rerum nullum erat apertum crimen, quo argui posset, non putabant de tali tamque claro viro suspicionibus oportere judicari,[4] et expectandum, dum se ipsa res aperiret.

4. Interim Argilius quidam adolescentulus, quem puerum Pausanias amore venerio dilexerat, cum epistolam ab eo ad Artabazum[5] accepisset, eique in suspicionem venisset,[6] aliquid in ea de se esse scriptum, quod nemo eorum redisset, qui super tali causa[7] eodem missi erant, vincla epistolae laxavit,[8] signoque detracto cognovit, si pertulisset,[9] sibi esse pereundum. Erant in eadem epistola, quae ad ea pertinebant, quae inter regem Pausaniamque convenerant. Has ille litteras[10] ephoris tradidit. Non est praetereunda gravitas[11]

few sentences. *Cuivis ephoro* is incorrect. One ephorus could not, though the body of ephori could. As to the *ephori*, see *Themist.* 7, p. 24, n. 8.

1 'The king,' the king of Persia, the great king.

2 See *Gram.* § 232, 3; *Elem Gram.* 252, end. The Helots (*Hilotae* or *Helotae*, Εἵλωτες) were the slaves of the Spartans, and most cruelly treated. The name is usually said to be derived from an old town, Helos, the inhabitants of which were reduced to slavery by the Lacedaemonians, but it more probably comes from the verb αἱρέω (second aorist εἷλον), 'I take,' and thus means simply 'men taken or conquered in war.'

3 Pausanias is the subject. *Gram.* § 246, note.

4 Impersonal, 'that judgment ought to be given.' For *et* we expect *sed*, but the copulative conjunction is often thus used after a negative.

5 Who, it will be remembered, was the Persian king's agent in the negotiations with Pausanias. See chapter 2.

6 The accusative with the infinitive, *aliquid — scriptum esse* is the subject of *venisset*. *Gram.* § 373; *Elem. Gram.* 367. As to the phrase, *in suspicionem venire*, compare *Milt.* 7, p. 13, n. 3.

7 'For a similar reason,' or 'about a similar matter.' *Super*, in the sense of 'about,' rarely occurs in prose writers of the best age of the language.

8 The ancients, besides sealing their letters, fastened bands or ribbons round them.

9 'If he had conveyed it to its destination.' This is the force of *per*. Directions were given in the letter to kill the bearer.

10 Observe the difference between *littera* and the plural *litterae*. The former is 'a letter,' 'character of the alphabet,' the latter ('a collection of characters of the alphabet') 'a letter,' 'epistle.'

11 'Dignified considerateness.' *Gravitas* here indicates a conduct influenced by the rules of reason, not by fickle impulse (*levitas*.)

Lacedaemoniorum hoc loco. Nam ne hujus quidem indicio impulsi sunt, ut Pausaniam comprehenderent, neque prius vim adhibendam putaverunt quam se ipse indicasset. Itaque huic indici, quid fieri vellent, praeceperunt. Fanum Neptuni[1] est Taenari, quod violari nefas[2] putant Graeci. Eo ille index confugit; in ara[3] consedit. Hanc[4] juxta locum fecerunt sub terra, ex quo posset audiri, si quis[5] quid loqueretur cum Argilio. Huc ex ephoris quidam descenderunt. Pausanias, ut audivit Argilium confugisse in aram, perturbatus venit eo. Quem cum supplicem dei videret in ara sedentem, quaerit causae quid[6] sit tam repentino consilio. Huic ille, quid ex litteris comperisset, aperit. Multo magis Pausanias perturbatus orare coepit, ne enunciaret,[7] nec se meritum de illo optime proderet: quod si[8] eam veniam sibi dedisset, tantisque implicatum rebus sublevasset, magno ei praemio futurum.[9]

5. His rebus ephori cognitis[10] satius putarunt in urbe eum

[1] That is, of the god Poseidōn, whom the Romans identified with their Neptunus, though the mythology of Greece was originally distinct from that of Italy. Taenarum, or Taenarus, now Matapan, a promontory of Laconia, the southernmost point of Greece, and indeed of the continent of Europe.

[2] 'A crime against heaven.' *Injuria* is a wrong done to men.

[3] We certainly might expect an 'and' here, the omission of which is called by grammarians an *asyndĕton*.

[4] *Hanc* refers to the *ara*. *Juxta* very seldom follows its accusative.

[5] As to the use of the simple form, *quis* for *aliquis*, see *Gram.* § 119; *Elem. Gram.* 110.

[6] As to *quid causae*, see *Gram.* § 275, *a;* and as to *sit consilio*, *Gram.* § 266; *Elem. Gram.* 285.

[7] 'That he would not divulge it.' *Enuntiare* often has this sense. *Meritum* is the participle, agreeing with *se*, 'who had deserved.' Pausanias, in saying that he had deserved very well of the young man, forgets that he has recently been attempting to have him murdered.

[8] *Quod si* is an expression of constant occurrence, in the sense of 'if therefore.' *Veniam dare alicui* may mean either 'to do one a favour,' or 'to grant one pardon.' The former is its signification here.

[9] The subject to *futurum esse* is an understood *id*, 'that, his so doing.' As to *praemio ei esse*, see *Gram.* § 270; *Elem. Gram.* 289.

[10] There being no perfect participle active in Latin, we cannot say, 'the ephori, having discovered these things, thought;' and to say, 'these things having been discovered by the ephori, the ephori thought,' is very awkward. Now it is desirable that it should be distinctly expressed to whom the action of the participle in the ablative absolute is to be referred; and to effect this, when the subject of the sentence is also the person to whom the action of the

comprehendi. Quo cum essent profecti, et Pausanias, placato Argilio, ut putabat, Lacedaemonem reverteretur, in itinere, cum jam in eo esset, ut[1] comprehenderetur, ex vultu cujusdam ephori, qui eum admonere cupiebat, insidias sibi fieri intellexit. Itaque, paucis ante gradibus quam[2] qui eum sequebantur, in aedem Minervae, quae Chalcioicos[3] vocatur, confugit. Hinc ne exire posset, statim ephori valvas ejus aedis obstruxerunt, tectumque sunt demoliti, quo celerius sub divo interiret. Dicitur eo tempore matrem Pausaniae vixisse,[4] eamque jam magno natu, postquam de scelere filii comperit, in primis ad filium claudendum lapidem ad introitum aedis attulisse. Sic Pausanias magnam belli gloriam turpi morte maculavit. Hic cum semianimis de templo elatus esset, confestim animam efflavit.[5] Cujus mortui corpus[6] cum eodem nonnulli dicerent inferri oportere, quo ii[7] qui ad supplicium essent dati,[8] displicuit pluribus,[9] et procul[10] ab eo loco infoderunt, in quo erat mortuus.

participle is attributed, the Latin authors very often adopt the order of words of which we have an instance here. The subject is placed in the participial clause; thus *ephori* in *his rebus cognitis*. This position shews that the *ephori* are the persons *qui cognoverunt*. See a case of the same kind in chapter 2, end: *hujus Pausanias voluntate cognita*. Compare *Gram.* § 405, n. 4.

1 *In eo esse ut*, 'to be on the point of,' is a common phrase.

2 The verb to *antequam* is omitted. We may supply *templum inierunt*.

3 This is the Greek word Χαλκίοικος, written in Roman characters. It means 'inhabiting a brazen house,' and was an epithet of Athena (the Roman Minerva), as goddess of a brazen temple in Sparta.

4 *Dicitur matrem vixisse* for *dicitur mater vixisse* is a rare construction, not to be imitated. Compare *Gram.* § 246, note.

5 'Breathed out his soul,' a beautiful circumlocution for 'died.'

6 'The body of whom dead'—that is, 'whose body, corpse.'

7 Strictly, *eorum corpora;* and even with the simple pronoun it ought to be *eos*, for the rule is, that when a relative clause dependent on an infinitive has the same verb, which, however, is not repeated, the subject of the relative clause is, by an attraction to the subject of the infinitive, put in the accusative: *Gram.* § 387.

8 *Supplicio afficere* is a more common expression than *ad supplicium dare.*

9 'The majority.' Most were of opinion that the body of so great a man, criminal though he was, should not be buried with those of common malefactors.

10 It is probable that *haud* or *non* has fallen out in the manuscripts before *procul*. There are two reasons for this supposition: first, the sentence, as it stands, appears very weak; and, secondly, Thucydides *expressly* says that the place where Pausanias was buried was *near*.

Inde posterius Dei Delphici[1] responso erutus, atque eodem loco sepultus,[2] ubi vitam posuerat.[3]

[1] 'The Delphian god'—that is, Apollo. See *Milt.* 1, p. 4, n. 6.

[2] *Est* is omitted, as it often is in such cases.

[3] 'Where he had laid down, lost, his life.' *Vitam ponere* is not an uncommon expression. In *Hannibal*, 1, the phrase *animam deponere* is used. The death of Pausanias occurred in the year 471 B.C.

V. CIMON.

1. CIMON, Miltiadis filius, Atheniensis, duro admodum initio usus est[1] adolescentiae. Nam cum pater ejus litem[2] aestimatam populo solvere non potuisset, ob eamque causam in vinclis publicis[3] decessisset, Cimon eadem custodia tenebatur, neque legibus Atheniensibus[4] emitti poterat, nisi pecuniam, qua pater multatus erat, solvisset. Habebat autem in matrimonio sororem germanam[5] suam, nomine Elpinicen, non magis amore quam more ductus. Namque Atheniensibus licet eodem patre natas uxores ducere.[6] Hujus[7] conjugii cupidus Callias quidam, non tam generosus quam pecuniosus,

[1] *Utor* means primarily, 'to use;' secondly, 'to experience'—which may be either 'to enjoy,' or, as here, 'to endure.'

[2] As to this sense of *lis*, see *Milt.* 7, p. 13, n. 10; and the whole of that chapter may be referred to for information about the condemnation of Miltiades.

[3] As to *vincla publica*, see *Milt.* 7, p. 14, n. 2.

[4] *Legibus Atheniensium* would be better. *Atheniensis* is not commonly used to qualify things.

[5] As to *germanus*, see *Praefatio*, p. 2, n. 2. As to the Greek accusative *Elpinicen*, see *Gram.* § 55; *Elem. Gram.* 35. In *more* and *amore*, Nepos attempts a small play on the sound of the words. He is certainly incorrect in saying that it was a *mos* among the Athenians to marry a sister. It might perhaps be done in a few cases; but Cimon, in marrying Elpinice—if the story be true, for it is not improbably a mere scandalous figment of the comedians—must have been *amore magis quam more ductus.*

[6] 'To marry sisters born of the same father' (but not of the same mother.) *Uxorem ducere* is the ordinary expression for a man marrying: *nubere* is said of a woman.

[7] *Hujus* is for *Elpinices*, and is governed by *conjugii*. *Gram.* § 276, n. 4. As to *generosus*, see *Themist.* 1, p. 16, n. 7.

qui magnas pecunias ex metallis fecerat,[1] egit cum Cimone[2] ut eam sibi uxorem daret: id si impetrasset, se pro illo pecuniam soluturum.[3] Is cum talem conditionem[4] aspernaretur, Elpinice negavit[5] se passuram Miltiadis progeniem in vinclis publicis interire, quoniam prohibere posset, seque Calliae nupturam, si ea quae polliceretur praestitisset.[6]

2. Tali modo custodia liberatus Cimon celeriter ad principatum[7] pervenit. Habebat enim satis eloquentiae,[8] summam liberalitatem, magnam prudentiam[9] cum juris civilis tum rei militaris, quod cum patre a puero[10] in exercitibus fuerat versatus. Itaque hic et populum urbanum in sua tenuit potestate, et apud exercitum plurimum valuit auctoritate. Primum imperator apud flumen Strymona[11] magnas copias Thracum fugavit, oppidum Amphipolim[12]

1 Mark the phrase *pecuniam* (or here, *pecunias*, 'sums of money') *facere*, which corresponds exactly with the English 'to make money.' As to the *metalla* here spoken of, see *Themist.* 2, p. 17, n. 10. These mines were let out to be wrought, and Callias had been one of the lessees.

2 *Agere cum aliquo* is 'to negotiate or treat with a person.'

3 To govern *se soluturum esse*, take *dixit* out of *egit.*

4 'Such a condition,' 'such terms of liberation.' Cimon was anxious to have the fine paid, and obtain his liberty, but he was too noble-minded to accept this boon, when the condition of selling, as it were, in marriage, his sister-wife, was attached to it.

5 *Nego* is very often to be translated not positively, 'I deny,' but negatively, 'I say that . . . . not.' This is the case here. Out of *negavit* we must take the affirmative *dixit*, to govern *se nupturam esse. Progenies* for 'a (single) son, descendant,' is properly poetical.

6 Observe the tense. The liberation of Cimon was to precede Elpinice's marriage with Callias.

7 'The chief power in the state.' Compare *Arist.* 1, beginning, and in regard to another sense of the word, *Themist.* 6, p. 23, n. 10.

8 This intimates what is true, that he was but an indifferent orator. He had *satis* perhaps, but no more. *Gram.* § 275, *b.*

9 'Skill in,' 'acquaintance with,' as often. *Peritia*, however, is the word more commonly joined with *rei militaris.* The distinction between *prudentia* and *peritia* is strictly this, that the former is 'theoretical knowledge,' the latter 'experimental, practical.'

10 As we say, 'from a boy.' The more logical expression is *ab aetate puerili, a pueritia*, 'from his boyhood.'

11 A river forming the boundary between Macedonia and Thrace. The expedition was undertaken to punish the Thracians for favouring Persia. It took place in the year 476 B.C., and the principal thing effected by it was the conquest of the town of Eion on the Strymon, which had been occupied by the Persians.

12 A city near the mouth of the Strymon, afterwards a subject of great dispute between the Athenians and Philip, king of Macedonia.

constituit, eoque decem milia Atheniensium in coloniam[1] misit. Idem iterum[2] apud Mycalen Cypriorum et Phoenicum ducentarum navium classem devictam cepit, eodemque die pari fortuna in terra usus est. Namque, hostium navibus captis, statim ex classe copias suas eduxit, barbarorumque maximam vim[3] uno concursu prostravit. Qua victoria magna praeda potitus cum domum reverteretur, quod jam nonnullae insulae propter acerbitatem imperii defecerant, bene animatas confirmavit, alienatas ad officium redire coëgit.[4] Scyrum,[5] quam eo tempore Dolopes incolebant, quod contumacius se gesserant,[6] vacuefecit, sessores veteres[7] urbe insulaque ejecit, agros civibus[8] divisit. Thasios[9] opulentia fretos suo adventu fregit.[10] His ex manubiis[11] arx Athenarum, qua ad meridiem vergit, est ornata.

3. Quibus rebus cum unus in civitate maxime floreret,

1 'For a colony,' 'as colonists.'

2 Supply *imperator*. Nepos, in the preceding sentence, says, *primum imperator*, 'when commander for the first time,' and here *iterum*, 'for the second time,' in the same way as the historians of Rome speak of a man as *primum*, *iterum*, *tertium*, *etc. consul*. Mycale is a promontory in Lydia. Nepos is in error here, for Cimon was not engaged in the battle of Mycale, which was fought in the year 479 B.C., on the same day that Pausanias routed Mardonius at Plataeae. Nepos confounds the battle of Mycale with that at the river Eurymedon, not far distant from Mycale, in Pamphylia. This was fought probably in the year 466 B.C.

3 'Force,' 'body of troops,' as often.

4 As to this expression, compare *Milt.* 7, p. 12, n. 9.

5 An island to the east of Euboea. Dolopia was a small district in the south-west of Thessaly.

6 Agreeing with a subject *Dolopes*, though, strictly speaking, *gesserat*, agreeing with *Scyros*, would be the proper form. *Vacuefacio*, 'I make empty,' 'lay waste,' is not a common word.

7 'The old inhabitants.' This is the only passage in which *sessor* is used for 'an inhabitant.'

8 Supply *suis*, 'his fellow-citizens,' Athenians. Observe the *asyndeton* (see *Pausan.* 4, p. 41, n. 3) in *vacuefecit*, *ejecit*, *divisit*. The use of this rhetorical device often gives strength, particularly where rapidity is to be expressed, as in Caesar's famous dispatch, *Veni*, *vidi*, *vici*.

9 Thasos, an island south of Thrace, to the east of the mouth of the Strymon. It was very fertile, produced fine wine, and had gold and silver mines, and quarries of beautiful marble. Hence the *opulentia* of its inhabitants.

10 'Broke the spirits of,' 'subdued,' as often. Nepos speaks as if the mere arrival of Cimon had made the Thasians submit. Instead of this, they maintained a resistance to the Athenians for nearly three years, from the year 465 to 463 B.C.

11 That is, the *manubiae* gained in all the battles just described. *Ornata* here is 'fitted up for use,' 'fortified,' nearly equivalent to *munita*.

incidit in eandem invidiam, quam[1] pater suus ceterique Atheniensium principes. Nam testarum suffragiis, quod[2] illi ὀστρακισμὸν vocant, decem annorum exilio multatus est. Cujus facti celerius Athenienses quam ipsum poenituit.[3] Nam cum ille animo forti invidiae ingratorum civium cessisset, bellumque Lacedaemonii Atheniensibus indixissent,[4] confestim notae ejus virtutis desiderium consecutum est. Itaque, post annum quintum quam expulsus erat, in patriam revocatus est. Ille, quod hospitio[5] Lacedaemoniorum utebatur, satius existimans contendere Lacedaemonem, sua sponte est profectus, pacemque inter duas potentissimas civitates conciliavit. Post, neque ita multo, Cyprum cum ducentis navibus imperator missus, cum ejus majorem partem insulae devicisset, in morbum implicitus,[6] in oppido Citio[7] est mortuus.

4. Hunc Athenienses non solum in bello, sed etiam in pace diu desideraverunt. Fuit enim tanta liberalitate, cum compluribus locis praedia hortosque haberet, ut nunquam in eis custodem imposuerit[8] fructus servandi gratia, ne quis

[1] Strictly, *in quam, inciderant* being understood as the verb of the relative clause. Not unfrequently, however, when the relative is so near the demonstrative, the preposition is not repeated. As to the *invidia* into which Miltiades fell, see his life, chapters 7 and 8.

[2] *Quod* refers not to any single word, but to 'the system of banishing by votes given in on tiles or potsherds,' *testarum suffragiis decem annorum exilio multari.* As to this use of the infinitive, 'the noun of the verb,' which we take out of *multatus est*, see *Gram.* § 373; *Elem. Gram.* 364. We might have had *quem*, agreeing with ὀστρακισμὸν (pronounced *ostrakismon*), a Greek masculine substantive. See, as to *quod* and *quem*, *Gram.* § 232, 2 and 3; *Elem. Gram.* 252; and, as to the system of ostracism, *Themist.* 8, p. 26, n. 8.

[3] *Poenitet me* often means 'I am sorry for' something that has befallen me, as well as 'I repent' of something I have done. The two senses are conjoined in the word here. Translate thus: 'the Athenians repented of this proceeding sooner than he himself bewailed it.' As to the construction of *poenitere*, see *Gram.* § 252; *Elem. Gram.* 269.

[4] In the year 457 B.C. Cimon was banished in 461 and recalled in 456 B.C. We may mention that the cause of Cimon's banishment was his opposition to the democratic party, and a suspicion that he had too strong leanings towards the Spartans.

[5] As to the *hospitium*, see *Themist.* 8, p. 27, n. 8.

[6] 'Entangled in, seized with, a disease.' We find also the ablative, *morbo implicitus.*

[7] On the south coast of Cyprus. As to the mode of expression, see *Gram.* § 268, n. 2.

[8] Nepos, as we have already remarked, is very fond of the perfect subjunctive. For *custodem in hortis imponere* it would be much more in accordance with common usage to say *custodem hortis* (dative) *imponere.* *In*, however, has here its pure locative meaning, 'to place

impediretur quo minus ejus rebus, quibus quisque[1] vellet,[2] frueretur. Semper eum pedisequi[3] cum nummis sunt secuti, ut, si quis opis ejus indigeret,[4] haberet quod statim daret, ne differendo videretur negare. Saepe, cum aliquem offensum fortuna[5] videret minus bene vestitum, suum amiculum dedit. Quotidie sic coena ei coquebatur,[6] ut quos invocatos vidisset in foro omnes devocaret; quod facere nullum diem praetermittebat.[7] Nulli fides[8] ejus, nulli opera, nulli res familiaris defuit; multos locupletavit; complures pauperes mortuos, qui unde efferrentur[9] non reliquissent, suo sumptu extulit. Sic se gerendo,[10] minime est mirandum, si et vita ejus fuit secura, et mors acerba.

a keeper *in* the gardens or pleasure-grounds,' to make him stay there and watch. *Imponere hortis*, on the other hand, points more to the superintendence or authority given, 'to put a man *over* the gardens.' *Gram.* § 263, end; *Elem. Gram.* 282.

[1] *Quisque* is superfluous after *ne quis*. Nepos writes as if he had said *ut omnibus frui liceret*, in which case *quisque* would have been quite appropriate.

[2] As to this subjunctive, see *Gram.* § 361; *Elem. Gram.* 361.

[3] *Pedisequus* is 'a footman,' 'page,' from *pes* and *sequor*, 'one who follows at another's foot.'

[4] As to the construction of *indigeo*, see *Gram.* § 296, n. 1.

[5] 'Fallen in with by chance'—that is, 'whom he had fallen in with by chance.' Instead of the simple *fortuna* in this sense, the phrase *forte fortuna* occurs commonly.

[6] For *coena sic coquebatur* we expect rather *talis* or *tanta coena coquebatur*. *Invocati* are 'uninvited persons,' those whom Cimon saw looking as if they had no very certain prospect of a dinner. This is extravagant. The more probable account is, that he kept open house for such of those belonging to his own *demos* (a division of Attica) as chose to come.

[7] We may say *hoc facere nullo die praetermitto*, 'on no day do I omit doing this,' in which case *praetermitto* governs *facere*; or we may say, *nullum diem quin hoc faciam praetermitto*, 'I spend no day without doing this,' in which case *nullum diem* is governed by *praetermitto*. Nepos mixes up the two constructions, and consequently makes an inaccurate sentence. He should have said either *quod quin faceret*, or *nullo die*.

[8] 'Faithful protection.'

[9] 'Wherewith they might be buried.' See *Arist.* 3, p. 35, n. 1. As to *qui reliquissent*, see *Gram.* § 360, 3; *Elem. Gram.* 360, 3. The force is, 'who were so poor that they . . . .'

[10] Such a construction as this can properly be used only when referring to the subject of the sentence. It is probable that Nepos intended to make Cimon the subject, thus: 'it is by no means (*minime*, as often) to be wondered at that by so conducting himself he enjoyed a life free from care, and, when he died, was lamented by all his fellow-citizens.' As the sentence is expressed, however, *cum sic se gereret* would be the proper commencement. To *acerba* understand *civibus* or *Atheniensibus*.

VI. LYSANDER.

1. LYSANDER Lacedaemonius magnam reliquit sui famam, magis felicitate quam virtute partam. Athenienses enim, [in Peloponnesios] sexto et vicesimo anno bellum gerentes,[1] confecisse apparet, neque id qua ratione consecutus sit latet.[2] Non enim virtute sui[3] exercitus sed immodestia[4] factum est adversariorum, qui, quod dicto audientes[5] imperatoribus suis non erant, dispalati in agris, relictis navibus, in hostium venerunt potestatem. Quo facto Athenienses se Lacedaemoniis dediderunt.[6] Hac victoria Lysander elatus, cum antea semper factiosus audaxque fuisset, sic sibi indulsit, ut ejus opera in maximum odium Graeciae Lacedaemonii pervenerint. Nam cum hanc causam Lacedaemonii dictitassent sibi

[1] The great war between the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, called the Peloponnesian war, broke out in the year 431 B.C., and the decisive battle of Aegospotami, in which Lysander conquered the Athenians, took place in 405 B.C. Therefore, according to the ancient mode of counting, which *included* the extremes, instead of *sexto et vicesimo*, *septimo et vicesimo* would be more accurate. Aegospotami was a stream in Chersonesus. See *Milt.* 1, p. 4, n. 4. To *confecisse* supply *eum* (*Lysandrum*) as subject, *Athenienses* being the object. *Conficere* is used here, as often, in the sense of 'to destroy,' 'overthrow.' The English verb, 'to finish,' has the same force in slang language.

[2] The order is *neque latet qua ratione* (that is, *quo modo*) *consecutus sit id*, *id* being the victory mentioned in the previous clause.

[3] Properly, *exercitus ejus*, but the mind of the author is running on a verb, *consecutus est*, though he afterwards uses *factum est*.

[4] 'Bad discipline,' 'neglect of discipline.' *Adversarius* is here used for *hostis*: the word properly means 'an opponent at law.'

[5] *Dicto audiens*, literally, 'hearing the word or command,' hence 'obedient,' is a phrase of pretty frequent occurrence. *Audio* governs the dative in this phrase, probably because it has the sense of *obedio*, *obtempero*. The two words being looked upon as forming but one idea, 'obedient,' may govern another dative, as here *imperatoribus suis*.

[6] In the spring of the year 404 B.C. Athens capitulated to Lysander.

esse belli, ut Atheniensium impotentem[1] dominationem refringerent, postquam apud Aegos flumen[2] Lysander classis hostium est potitus,[3] nihil aliud molitus est quam ut omnes civitates in sua teneret potestate, cum[4] id se Lacedaemoniorum causa facere simularet. Namque, undique qui Atheniensium rebus studuissent ejectis,[5] decem[6] delegerat in unaquaque civitate, quibus summum imperium potestatemque omnium rerum committeret.[7] Horum in numerum nemo admittebatur, nisi qui aut ejus hospitio[8] contineretur, aut se illius fore proprium fide confirmarat.

2. Ita decemvirali potestate in omnibus urbibus constituta, ipsius nutu[9] omnia gerebantur. Cujus de crudelitate ac perfidia satis est unam rem exempli gratia proferre, ne de eodem plura enumerando defatigemus lectores. Victor ex Asia cum reverteretur[10] Thasumque devertisset, quod ea civitas praecipua fide fuerat erga Athenienses, proinde ac si iidem firmissimi solerent esse amici, qui constantes fuissent

[1] *Impotens* often means 'unable to control one's self,' 'wild,' 'mad,' 'outrageous.' This is the force here.

[2] The Greek name Αἰγὸς ποταμοὶ (Aegospotami) means 'Goat's River.' Nepos, in common with other Latin writers, translates the 'river,' but leaves the Greek genitive for 'Goat's' standing.

[3] As to the construction of *potior*, see *Gram.* § 300, with note; *Elem. Gram.* 313.

[4] 'Although.'

[5] 'Having expelled those who would have favoured the interests of Athens' (namely, if they had been allowed to remain.) To *ejectis* supply *iis* or *omnibus*. *Gram.* § 405, n. 5, end.

[6] Properly the distributive *denos* should have been used. *Gram.* § 106; *Elem. Gram.* 90. But not unfrequently, when the distribution of the number is indicated by another word, as here by *unaquaque*, the cardinal numerals are used instead of the distributive.

[7] As to this subjunctive, see *Gram.* § 360, 1; *Elem. Gram.* 360, 1.

[8] As to the bond of *hospitium*, see *Themist.* 8, p. 27, n. 8, and as to the subjunctive, *contineretur*, *Gram.* § 360, 3; *Elem. Gram.* 360, 3. *Fore proprium illius*, 'would belong entirely to him,' 'be entirely in his interest.' *Gram.* § 277, 6; *Elem. Gram.* 295, 6. The variation of tense in *contineretur—confirmarat* is quite proper, since the connection of the *hospitium* is constant, existing before, at, and after admission into the number of the ten rulers, whereas the swearing takes place once for all *before* admission. The change of mood is less easily explained. We can only say, that in the former clause Nepos was thinking more of the condition; in the latter, more of the fact.

[9] To say that things are done at a man's mere nod indicates absolute power. The nod of Jove is famous.

[10] In the year 404 B.C., after he had reduced the island of Samos. As to the island of Thasos, see *Cimon* 2, p. 46, n. 9. Names of small islands are construed like names of towns. *Gram.* § 257; *Elem. Gram.* 277.

inimici,[1] pervertere eam concupivit. Vidit autem, nisi in eo occultasset voluntatem, futurum ut[2] Thasii dilaberentur consulerentque rebus suis . . . .

3. Itaque hi[3] decemviralem suam potestatem ab illo constitutam sustulerunt. Quo dolore incensus iniit consilia reges Lacedaemoniorum tollere.[4] Sed sentiebat id se sine ope deorum facere non posse, quod Lacedaemonii omnia ad oracula referre consuerant. Primum Delphos[5] corrumpere

[1] The Thasians had formerly been bitter enemies of the Athenians, though towards the end of the war they had been friends; and consequently, if they had displayed *praecipua fides* towards Athens, it had only been for a very short time, and through the force of circumstances. Nepos says that Lysander was anxious utterly to destroy the Thasian state, as if it was a usual thing for those who had been constant enemies to become warm and steady friends. Our author thinks that the Lacedaemonian general might have spared the Thasians, for there was no great reason to fear that they, having been brought into connection with Athens more by circumstances than good-will, would adhere very zealously to her fallen cause.

[2] *Futurum esse* or *fore ut* is a very common circumlocution for the future infinitive, and is used particularly in the case of verbs which have no future participle, and consequently no future infinitive. Thus with *vescor*, *dico fore ut carne vescar*, 'I say that I shall eat meat.' Compare *Gram.* chap. xxii., and § 371, n. 4. *Dilaberentur consulerentque rebus suis*, 'would slip away (*dis-*, each to his separate place of refuge) and attend to their own safety.' *Gram.* § 264, n. 2. Lysander feared that, unless he concealed his bloody design, he should lose his prey. After *suis* there is a gap in the manuscripts, a circumstance not uncommon in our copies of the works of ancient writers. From the narrative given by Polyaenus, the author of a Greek work on military stratagems, we can fill the story up thus: 'Accordingly, he gave them a solemn promise that none of them should be injured; but a few days after, when the people, confiding in his honour, were engaged about their ordinary business, he, with perjury and cruelty scarcely paralleled, gave the signal for a general slaughter. When this was reported at Sparta, it produced a universal feeling of hatred; and the kings, who looked upon his arbitrary proceedings with an eye of great jealousy, advised the people to abolish that decemviral mode of government which, for the support of his own power, he had established in a considerable number of states.'

[3] That is, the Lacedaemonians. See the end of the preceding note. *Suam*, 'their'—that is, the Lacedaemonians', because the decemvirates had been instituted in their name.

[4] *Consilia tollere* is a rather poetical construction for *consilia tollendi*. *Gram.* § 373, note. It seems probable that the abolition of Lysander's decemvirates took place in 403 B.C., and the proceedings now to be described fall between that year and 398 B.C.

[5] The name of the town used for 'the oracle' or 'the priests.' This is a natural enough mode of speaking. *Dodonam* is used in the same way in the next sentence. Dodona was a town in Epirus, where there was a very ancient oracle of Zeus (the Roman Jupiter.)

est conatus. Cum id non potuisset, Dodonam adortus est. Hinc quoque repulsus dixit se vota suscepisse, quae Jovi Hammoni solveret,[1] existimans se Afros facilius corrupturum. Hac spe cum profectus esset in Africam, multum eum antistites Jovis fefellerunt. Nam non solum corrumpi non potuerunt, sed etiam legatos Lacedaemonem miserunt, qui Lysandrum accusarent, quod sacerdotes fani corrumpere conatus esset. Accusatus hoc crimine judicumque absolutus sententiis, Orchomeniis[2] missus subsidio, occisus est a Thebanis apud Haliartum. Quam vere de eo foret[3] judicatum, oratio indicio fuit, quae post mortem in domo[4] ejus reperta est, in qua suadet Lacedaemoniis, ut, regia potestate dissoluta, ex omnibus dux deligatur ad bellum gerendum,[5] sed scripta ut deum[6] videretur congruere sententiae, quam ille se habiturum pecunia fidens non dubitabat. Hanc ei scripsisse Cleon[7] Halicarnassius dicitur.

4. Atque hoc loco non est praetereundum factum Pharnabazi, satrapis[8] regis. Nam cum Lysander, praefectus classis,

[1] *Quae soluturus esset* would be the more accurate construction. *Gram.* § 149; *Elem. Gram.* 138. The god with whose ministers Lysander resolved now to tamper was Ammon, or Hammon, an African divinity, identified by the Greeks and Romans with their Zeus and Jupiter, and hence called Zeus and Jupiter Ammon. He had a celebrated temple and oracle situated on a beautiful *oasis* (Ammonium, now *Siwah*) or fertile spot in the desert of Libya.

[2] Orchomenus and Haliartus were towns in Boeotia, on the shores of Lake Copais, and Thebes was the chief city of Boeotia. As to the construction, *missus subsidio Orchomeniis*, see *Gram.* § 270; *Elem. Gram.* 289. The death of Lysander took place in 395 B.C.

[3] For *esset*. *Gram.* § 137, n. 4; *Elem. Gram.* 132, end of notes on *sum*. As to the subjunctive, see *Gram.* § 353; *Elem. Gram.* 352. This clause may be viewed as referring either to the decision of the judges —that is, the acquittal mentioned in the preceding sentence—in which case the *vere* is ironical, or to the opinion of the public in general, which was, no doubt, that Lysander was guilty. The latter view is perhaps the preferable one.

[4] *Domi*, 'at home,' indicates the place of residence quite in a general way; *in domo* points definitely to the building. *Gram.* § 268, n. 3.

[5] Other authors tell us that his design was to open up the chance of obtaining the kingly honours—which had hitherto descended in the two houses of Eurysthenes and Procles—either to all the Spartans or to all the race of the Heraclidae, to which he himself belonged.

[6] The genitive, for *deorum*. *Gram.* § 58, n. 5.

[7] This was a rhetorician. As to *Halicarnassius*, see *Themist.* 1, p. 16, n. 8.

[8] As to this title, see *Pausan.* 1, p. 36, n. 4. The province of Pharnabazus was in the west of Asia Minor.

in bello multa crudeliter avareque fecisset, deque his rebus suspicaretur[1] ad cives suos esse perlatum, petiit a Pharnabazo, ut ad ephoros sibi testimonium daret, quanta sanctitate[2] bellum gessisset sociosque tractasset, deque ea re accurate scriberet: magnam enim ejus auctoritatem in ea re futuram.[3] Huic ille liberaliter pollicetur; librum grandem[4] verbis multis conscripsit, in quibus summis eum fert laudibus. Quem cum legisset probassetque,[5] dum signatur,[6] alterum pari magnitudine, tanta[7] similitudine ut discerni non posset, signatum subjecit,[8] in quo accuratissime ejus avaritiam perfidiamque accusarat.[9] Hunc Lysander, domum cum redisset, postquam de suis rebus gestis apud maximum magistratum[10] quae voluerat dixerat, testimonii loco librum[11] a Pharnabazo datum tradidit. Hunc, summoto Lysandro, cum ephori cognossent,[12] ipsi legendum dederunt. Ita ille imprudens[13] ipse suus fuit accusator.

[1] Observe the correct use of the tenses: he *had done* wicked things, and he *was at the time suspecting*. *Perlatum esse*, 'that a report had been carried,' as often.

[2] 'Conscientiousness,' 'uprightness,' 'purity of conduct.'

[3] To govern this clause, take out of *petiit* the idea of *dixit*. *Gram.* § 388.

[4] *Liber grandis* does not mean here 'a large book,' but simply 'a long letter or document,' for *liber* embraces writings of any length beyond that of a mere note. *Fert*, 'extols.' The compound *effero* is more commonly used in this sense, but the simple verb has also this force not unfrequently.

[5] Lysander is the subject of these verbs, Pharnabazus of *subjecit*. Nepos should have expressed the subjects.

[6] *Dum* with the present, as is usual. *Gram.* § 332, note.

[7] We should have expected rather *tantaque*. These are ablatives of quality. *Gram.* § 306; *Elem. Gram.* 319.

[8] 'He substituted.'

[9] The ordinary construction is *accusare aliquem avaritiae*, 'to accuse a person of avarice;' but we may also say, as here, *accusare avaritiam alicujus*, 'to blame a person's avarice.'

[10] Collective, 'magistracy,' 'magistrates,' the *ephori*. For *postquam dixerat* the ordinary construction would be *postquam dixit*. *Gram.* § 334; *Elem. Gram.* 338, end.

[11] The author forgets that he began the sentence with *hunc*, referring to the document of Pharnabazus.

[12] 'Had become acquainted with (by reading)'—that is, had read. As to this contracted form for *cognovissent*, see *Gram.* § 141, 1; *Elem. Gram.* 135, 1. *Legendum* is the gerundive. *Gram.* § 399. The young student will find it a useful exercise to try in how many ways he can vary the mode of expressing the statement, *librum mihi legendum dedit*, 'he gave me a book to read.'

[13] 'Ignorantly,' 'unawares,' 'without knowing it.'

VII. ALCIBIADES.

1. Alcibiades, Cliniae[1] filius, Atheniensis. In hoc quid natura efficere possit[2] videtur experta. Constat enim inter omnes, qui de eo memoriae prodiderunt, nihil illo fuisse excellentius[3] vel in vitiis vel in virtutibus. Natus in amplissima civitate, summo genere, omnium aetatis suae multo formosissimus, ad omnes res aptus consiliique plenus (namque imperator fuit summus[4] et mari et terra; disertus, ut in primis dicendo valeret, quod tanta erat commendatio oris atque orationis,[5] ut nemo ei posset resistere); dives; cum tempus posceret, laboriosus, patiens; liberalis, splendidus non minus in vita quam victu;[6] affabilis, blandus, temporibus callidissime serviens: idem, simulac se remiserat,[7] neque

[1] Clinias had distinguished himself highly in the battle of Artemisium (*Themist.* 3.) As to this mode of commencing a life with a title, see *Themist.* 1, p. 16, n. 2.

[2] After *experta esse*, *posset* would be the proper tense. *Gram.* § 364. But the author's mind is running strongly upon the general character of his assertion: 'nature never *can* produce a more extraordinary man than Alcibiades.' Hence he employs the present.

[3] *Nihil fuisse excellentius* is a strong expression for *neminem fuisse excellentiorem.* Observe that *excellens* does not necessarily mean 'excellent,' but merely 'distinguished,' which may be *in vitiis* as well as *in virtutibus.*

[4] Not referring to rank, but equivalent to *clarissimus.*

[5] 'Of his delivery and style.' *Os* seems to refer to his articulation and gesture, and *oratio* to the strength of thought and elegance of expression in the speeches themselves. He had a slight lisp, which, however, was rather pleasing than otherwise.

[6] *Victus* refers to his food and the arrangements of his table, *vita* to his public proceedings. Translate, therefore, 'not less in his public than in his private life.'

[7] 'As soon as he had released himself from business,' or 'as soon as he had relaxed from his exertions.' The opposite of *remitto* is *intendo*, and both are metaphorical expressions taken from a bow.

causa suberat, quare animi laborem perferret, luxuriosus, dissolutus, libidinosus, intemperans reperiebatur, ut omnes admirarentur[1] in uno homine tantam esse dissimilitudinem tamque diversam naturam.

2. Educatus est in domo Pericli[2] (privignus enim ejus fuisse dicitur), eruditus a Socrate; socerum habuit Hipponicum, omnium Graeca lingua loquentium[3] ditissimum: ut, si ipse fingere vellet, neque plura bona comminisci neque majora posset consequi, quam vel natura vel fortuna tribueret.[4] Ineunte adolescentia amatus est a multis amore Graecorum,[5] in eis Socrate; de quo[6] mentionem facit Plato in Symposio. Namque eum induxit commemorantem se pernoctasse cum Socrate, neque aliter ab eo surrexisse, ac filius a parente debuerit. Posteaquam robustior[7] est factus, non minus multos amavit; in quorum amore, quoad licitum est,[8] odiosa multa delicate jocoseque fecit, quae referremus, nisi majora potiora haberemus.[9]

1 'Wondered,' or perhaps stronger, 'wondered greatly.' See *Praefatio*, p. 2, n. 1.

2 As to *in domo*, see *Lysand.* 3, p. 52, n. 4; and as to the genitive *Pericli* from *Pericles*, *Themist.* 1, p. 16, n. 1. Pericles was the greatest of Athenian statesmen. He died in 429 B.C. Socrates (born 468, died 399 B.C.) was the noblest man and one of the most renowned philosophers of antiquity.

3 A paraphrase for *Graecorum*. Compare *Milt.* 3, and *Dion*, 1.

4 The advantages given by nature are enumerated in the first chapter; those given by fortune, in the first part of this sentence. Observe that his hereditary wealth is mentioned in the first chapter among the gifts of nature, whereas the dowry which his wife received from her rich father, Hipponicus, is among those of fortune. Compare *Dion*, 1, where the *magnae divitiae a patre relictae* are classed among advantages derived from nature. As to the subjunctive in *tribueret*, see *Gram.* § 361; *Elem. Gram.* 361.

5 That is, with that fond but honourable affection which many of the Greek philosophers entertained for talented young men.

6 For *de qua re*. The expression is ambiguous, since it might readily be thought that *quo* is masculine, referring to *Socrate*. Plato was one of the greatest philosophers and most beautiful writers of Greece. He was a disciple of Socrates, and introduced him as a speaker in his philosophical dialogues, one of which is called Συμπόσιον, Latinised *Symposium*, 'the Convivial Party.'

7 That is, older.

8 That is, so far as could be done without transgressing the laws of decency. The sense of the whole passage is, that Alcibiades often played very annoying pranks (*odiosa*) upon his intimate friends, but did it so delicately and so playfully, that they could not feel offended.

9 *Habeo* is here 'I hold, consider:' 'if we did not consider the things which are of more importance as preferable'—that is, as to be

3. Bello Peloponnesio[1] hujus consilio atque auctoritate Athenienses bellum Syracusanis[2] indixerunt; ad quod gerendum ipse dux delectus est. Duo praeterea collegae dati, Nicia[3] et Lamachus. Id cum appararetur, priusquam classis exiret, accidit, ut una nocte omnes Hermae,[4] qui in oppido erant[5] Athenis, dejicerentur,[6] praeter unum qui ante januam erat Andocidi.[7] Itaque ille postea Mercurius Andocidis vocitatus est. Hoc cum appareret non sine magna multorum consensione esse factum, quae non ad privatam sed publicam rem pertineret,[8] magnus multitudini timor est injectus, ne qua repentina vis in civitate existeret, quae libertatem opprimeret populi. Hoc maxime convenire in Alcibiadem videbatur,[9] quod et potentior et major[10] quam privatus existimabatur. Multos enim liberalitate devinxerat, plures etiam opera forensi[11] suos reddiderat. Quare fiebat, ut omnium oculos, quotiescunque in publicum prodisset, ad se

described in such a brief life, in preference to those trifling jokes which have just been mentioned.

[1] The Peloponnesian war is the great war between the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, which broke out in 431 and ended in 404 B.C. The name *Bellum Peloponnesiacum* is more common than *Bellum Peloponnesium.*

[2] Syracuse was a large and magnificent city in the island of Sicily. It was founded by Dorians, and was thus connected with Sparta. The Athenians declared war against it in 415 B.C.

[3] Properly *Nicias*, but we sometimes find the pure Latin termination of the first declension given in such cases. Compare *Hamilcar*, 1; *Barca*, and *Hannibal*, 12; *Prusia.* Nicias was a distinguished statesman, and Lamachus a brave and veteran soldier.

[4] Statues of the god Hermes (Mercury), which were placed in the streets and in front of houses.

[5] Strictly *essent. Gram.* § 361; *Elem. Gram.* 361.

[6] Other historians say that they were merely mutilated.

[7] As to this genitive, see *Themist.* 1, p. 16, n. 1. The ordinary form occurs immediately after. Andocides was an eloquent but very unprincipled orator.

[8] That is, the fact that so many Hermae were mutilated proved the proceeding to be a demonstration of hostility to the state, and not merely to some private parties.

[9] 'To be suitable for Alcibiades.'

[10] *Potentior* seems to refer to the *influence* which he had over others, *major* more immediately to the *power* in the state which this influence gave him; 'more influential and powerful.'

[11] 'By help afforded in courts of justice.' He often pleaded in behalf of parties accused, and by his eloquence saved them from condemnation. This was a very common mode of obtaining influence in ancient states. *Suos reddiderat*, 'had made his own,' 'brought entirely into his interest.'

converteret, neque ei par quisquam in civitate poneretur.[1] Itaque non solum spem in eo habebant maximam, sed etiam timorem, quod et obesse plurimum et prodesse poterat. Aspergebatur etiam infamia, quod in domo sua facere mysteria[2] dicebatur; quod nefas erat more Atheniensium, idque non ad religionem sed ad conjurationem pertinere existimabatur.

4. Hoc crimine in concione ab inimicis compellabatur.[3] Sed instabat tempus ad bellum proficiscendi. Id ille intuens, neque ignorans civium suorum consuetudinem,[4] postulabat, si quid de se agi vellent, potius de praesente quaestio haberetur, quam absens invidiae crimine[5] accusaretur. Inimici vero ejus quiescendum in praesenti, quia noceri[6] non posse intelligebant, et illud tempus expectandum decreverunt, quo exisset, ut absentem aggrederentur; itaque[7] fecerunt. Nam postquam in Siciliam eum pervenisse crediderunt, absentem, quod sacra violasset, reum fecerunt.[8] Qua de re cum[9] ei nuncius a magistratu in Siciliam missus esset, ut domum ad causam dicendam rediret, essetque in magna spe provinciae bene administrandae, non parere noluit, et in trierem,[10] quae ad eum erat deportandum missa, ascendit. Hac Thurios[11] in

1 'Was reckoned.' Compare *Praefatio*, p. 2, n. 10.

2 *Mysteria* were certain religious rites of different kinds, celebrated with great secrecy, and in presence of the initiated only. The principal were those of Eleusis, in Attica, which were sacred to, or in honour of, Demeter (Ceres) and Persephone (Proserpine.) It was illegal to celebrate these rites in a private house.

3 'Was reproached,' 'spoken ill of,' 'called by hard names,' not 'was accused (formally.')

4 As to this *consuetudo*, compare *Themist.* 8.

5 Either 'on a charge raised by envy'—that is, by jealous enemies, or 'on a charge of a hateful kind, or likely to excite hatred.' In this latter case, the genitive is exactly equivalent to the adjective *odioso*; in the former, it is an ordinary subjective genitive. *Gram.* § 273; *Elem. Gram.* 292.

6 Supply *ei*, the verb *noceo* governing the dative, and the clause being consequently of an impersonal nature. *Gram.* § 248, n. 1.

7 That is, *et ita*, not the conjunctive adverb 'therefore.' *Itaque* for *et ita* occurs often.

8 Equivalent to *accusarunt*.

9 This *cum* seems to have two senses, 'when' in its connection with *missus esset*, and 'although' in its connection with *esset in magna spe*.

10 *Trieris* is a somewhat rare form, taken immediately from the Greek, for the ordinary *triremis*, 'a galley with three benches or rows of oars.'

11 A town in Lucania, a province of Southern Italy. It was a

Italiam pervectus, multa secum reputans de immoderata civium suorum licentia crudelitateque erga[1] nobiles, utilissimum ratus impendentem evitare tempestatem, clam se ab custodibus subduxit, et inde primum Elidem,[2] dein Thebas venit. Postquam autem se capitis damnatum, bonis publicatis, audivit, et, id quod usu venerat, Eumolpidas[3] sacerdotes a populo coactos ut se[4] devoverent, ejusque devotionis, quo testatior esset memoria, exemplum in pila lapidea incisum esse[5] positum in publico, Lacedaemonem demigravit. Ibi, ut ipse praedicare consueverat, non adversus patriam sed inimicos[6] suos bellum gessit, quod iidem hostes essent civitati: nam cum intelligerent se[7] plurimum prodesse posse reipublicae, ex ea ejecisse, plusque irae suae quam utilitati communi paruisse. Itaque hujus consilio Lacedaemonii cum Persarum rege amicitiam fecerunt, dein Deceleam[8] in Attica munierunt, praesidioque ibi perpetuo posito, in obsidione Athenas tenuerunt. Ejusdem opera Ioniam a societate averterunt Atheniensium. Quo facto multo superiores bello esse coeperunt.

5. Neque vero his rebus tam amici Alcibiadi sunt facti,

colony of all Greece. Observe that the Latin is *in Italiam*, whilst we say 'in Italy.' The notion of the progress of Alcibiades to Italy is prominent in the Latin expression; the situation of Thurii in the English. However, *in Italia* might also have been used.

[1] *Erga* is not commonly used in the sense of *contra* or *adversus*, 'against,' as here, but merely 'towards.'

[2] The chief town of a district of the same name, in the west of Peloponnesus. Thebes was the capital of Boeotia.

[3] The founder of the Eleusinian mysteries was said to have been a mythological personage called Eumolpus, and his descendants were the chief-priests in the celebration of them. It was their duty to curse all who transgressed the laws regarding the mysteries.

[4] Referring to Alcibiades, the subject of the whole sentence.

[5] *Esse* belongs to *positum*, not to *incisum*.

[6] 'His private foes.' *Hostis* is 'a public enemy;' *inimicus*, 'a private foe;' and *adversarius*, properly, 'an opponent at law.' *Hostes* is therefore accurately used in the next clause, 'enemies to the state.'

[7] 'That he,' Alcibiades. See n. 4. The subject of *ejecisse* is *eos*, to be supplied.

[8] Decelea was a town in the north of Attica. It lay between Athens and Euboea, from which the Athenians derived a great part of their supplies; and, indeed, a better position for ravaging Attica by marauding parties, and thus distressing the Athenians, could not have been selected. Nepos does not speak with chronological accuracy. The fortification of Decelea preceded the conclusion of a league with Persia.

quam timore ab eo alienati. Nam cum acerrimi[1] viri praestantem prudentiam in omnibus rebus cognoscerent, pertimuerunt, ne caritate patriae ductus aliquando ab ipsis descisceret, et cum suis in gratiam rediret. Itaque tempus[2] ejus interficiundi quaerere instituerunt. Id Alcibiades diutius celari non potuit.[3] Erat enim ea sagacitate, ut decipi non posset, praesertim cum animum attendisset ad cavendum. Itaque ad Tissaphernem, praefectum regis Darii,[4] se contulit. Cujus cum in intimam amicitiam pervenisset, et Atheniensium, male gestis in Sicilia rebus, opes senescere,[5] contra Lacedaemoniorum[6] crescere videret, initio cum Pisandro[7] praetore, qui apud Samum exercitum habebat, per internuncios colloquitur, et de reditu suo facit mentionem. Erat enim eodem, quo Alcibiades, sensu, populi potentiae non amicus, et optimatium fautor. Ab hoc destitutus, primum per Thrasybulum,[8] Lyci filium, ab exercitu recipitur, praetorque fit apud Samum; post, suffragante Theramene,[9] populiscito restituitur, parique absens imperio praeficitur simul cum Thrasybulo et Theramene. Horum in imperio tanta commutatio rerum facta est, ut Lacedaemonii, qui paulo ante victores viguerant,[10] perterriti pacem peterent.[11] Victi enim erant quinque proeliis terrestribus, tribus navalibus; in quibus ducentas naves triremes amiserant, quae captae in hostium venerant potestatem. Alcibiades simul cum collegis

[1] *Acer* here means 'active-minded,' 'acute,' 'penetrating,' 'sagacious.'

[2] Equivalent, as not unfrequently, to *tempus opportunum*, 'opportunity.'

[3] 'Alcibiades could not be kept in ignorance of this for any length of time' (literally, 'longer'—that is, than usual.) As to *celare*, and its construction in the passive, see *Gram.* § 254, 1, with note.

[4] Darius Ochus or Nothus. The date of Alcibiades's journey is 412 B. C.

[5] A figurative expression, 'to grow weak,' as the powers of old men usually do.

[6] Supply *opes*. We do not repeat the substantive in English, but say 'those' or 'that.' In Latin, however, the pronoun is not used, but the substantive is either repeated, or, more commonly, understood.

[7] Pisander was an Athenian of somewhat disreputable character; nevertheless, by demagogic arts, he had obtained an influence in the state. Samos, an island off the coast of Ionia in Asia Minor.

[8] A very distinguished man. See his life by Nepos. As to this use of *per*, see *Gram.* § 290, n. 2; *Elem. Gram.* 304.

[9] A selfish, intriguing time-server.

[10] 'Had flourished,' stronger and more picturesque than *fuerant*.

[11] This occurred in the year 410 B. C.

receperat Ioniam, Hellespontum,[1] multas praeterea urbes Graecas, quae in ora sitae sunt Asiae, quarum expugnarant complures, in his Byzantium,[2] neque minus multas consilio ad amicitiam adjunxerant, quod in captos clementia fuerant usi. Ita praeda onusti, locupletato exercitu, maximis rebus gestis, Athenas venerunt.[3]

6. His cum obviam[4] universa civitas in Piraeeum descendisset, tanta fuit omnium expectatio visendi Alcibiadis,[5] ut ad ejus triremem vulgus conflueret, proinde ac si solus advenisset. Sic enim populo erat persuasum,[6] et adversas superiores et praesentes secundas res accidisse ejus opera. Itaque et Siciliae amissum[7] et Lacedaemoniorum victorias culpae suae[8] tribuebant, quod talem virum e civitate expulissent. Neque id sine causa arbitrari videbantur. Nam postquam exercitui praeesse coeperat, neque terra neque mari hostes pares esse potuerant. Hic ut e navi egressus est, quamquam Theramenes et Thrasybulus eisdem rebus praefuerant, simulque venerant in Piraeeum, tamen unum omnes illum persequebantur, et, id quod nunquam antea usu venerat, nisi Olympiae victoribus,[9] coronis aureis aeneisque vulgo

[1] The name of *Hellespontus* was given not merely to the straits now called the Straits of the Dardanelles, but also to the land on each side.

[2] Nepos makes a slip here. Byzantium (Constantinople) is on the European, not the Asiatic side. Chalcedon was the town on the Asiatic side of the strait.

[3] They returned in 407 B.C.

[4] *Obviam alicui ire* is 'to go to meet one.' *Descendo* is properly used here, since the Piraeeus (now Porto Dracone or Porto Leone) was the port, and the Athenians 'went down' from the city to the sea.

[5] 'Longing to behold Alcibiades.' *Viso* is properly a frequentative from *video*, but is often used, as here, merely as a strengthened form. *Gram.* § 214, 2; *Elem. Gram.* 236, 2.

[6] *Persuadeo aliquid alicui* is the active construction, and consequently *aliquid alicui persuadetur* is the passive.

[7] *Amissus*, as a substantive, does not occur elsewhere. Cicero uses *amissio*.

[8] 'To their own fault.' By using the subjunctive *expulissent*, Nepos shews this to have been the reason assigned by the Athenians for considering their losses as owing to themselves. *Gram.* § 354; *Elem. Gram.* 353.

[9] See *Praefatio*, p. 2, n. 7. The victors at Olympia commonly received not golden crowns, but merely garlands of the leaves of the wild olive. It might, however, occasionally happen, in cases where remarkable feats had been performed, that golden crowns were bestowed. By *coronis aureis aeneisque* we are led to understand that, as all the people were anxious to shew honour to their hero, the wealthy gave golden crowns, the poorer citizens brass.

donabatur. Ille lacrimans talem benevolentiam civium suorum accipiebat, reminiscens pristini temporis acerbitatem. Postquam in astu[1] venit, concione advocata, sic verba fecit, ut nemo tam ferus fuerit, quin ejus casu[2] illacrimarit inimicumque iis se ostenderit, quorum opera patria pulsus fuerat; proinde ac si alius populus, non ille ipse qui tum flebat, eum sacrilegii damnasset. Restituta ergo huic sunt publice bona, iidemque illi Eumolpidae sacerdotes rursus resacrare sunt coacti, qui eum devoverant, pilaeque[3] illae, in quibus devotio fuerat scripta, in mare praecipitatae.

7. Haec Alcibiadi laetitia non nimis fuit diuturna. Nam cum ei omnes essent honores decreti, totaque respublica domi bellique[4] tradita, ut unius arbitrio gereretur, et ipse postulasset, ut duo sibi collegae darentur, Thrasybulus et Adimantus,[5] neque id negatum esset, classe in Asiam profectus, quod apud Cymen[6] minus ex sententia rem gesserat, in invidiam recidit. Nihil enim eum non efficere posse[7] ducebant. Ex quo fiebat, ut omnia minus prospere gesta culpae tribuerent,[8] cum aut eum negligenter aut malitiose fecisse loquerentur;[9] sicut tum accidit. Nam corruptum a rege[10] capere Cymen noluisse arguebant. Itaque huic maxime putamus malo

[1] As to *astu*, see *Themist.* 4, p. 20, n. 11.

[2] This is the dative, contracted for *casui*. *Gram.* § 71, n. 2.

[3] See chapter 4. There only one *pila* is mentioned, here several.

[4] As to this phrase, see *Gram.* § 268, n. 3.

[5] Other authors mention for Thrasybulus, Aristocrates. Neither Adimantus nor Aristocrates was particularly distinguished.

[6] An important town in the south-west of Mysia, in Asia Minor. Nepos, judging from what he says in the following sentences, seems to have totally misunderstood the state of matters. Cyme was in alliance with Athens, but Alcibiades, on false pretences, ravaged its territory, for which the inhabitants justly administered chastisement. Moreover, whilst the commander-in-chief was thus engaged, Antiochus, who had temporary charge of the fleet, engaged with Lysander, contrary to the express orders of Alcibiades, and was defeated. These two circumstances caused Alcibiades to fall into odium again at Athens. *Ex sententia* is a phrase meaning 'in accordance with one's feelings or wishes;' here of course those of the Athenians.

[7] *Nihil non efficere posse*—the two negatives neutralising each other —is equivalent to *omnia efficere posse*. *Ducere*, 'to think,' as often.

[8] 'That they were in the habit of attributing.' Then follows *sicut tum accidit*, 'as happened in this particular case.'

[9] *Loqui* is often used of that gossipping small-talk which consists more of guesses than of well-founded assertions.

[10] '*The* king,' the great king, the king of Persia.

fuisse[1] nimiam opinionem ingenii atque virtutis. Timebatur enim non minus quam diligebatur, ne[2] secunda fortuna magnisque opibus elatus tyrannidem concupisceret. Quibus rebus factum est, ut absenti magistratum[3] abrogarent, et alium in ejus locum substituerent. Id ille ut audivit, domum reverti noluit, et se Pactyen[4] contulit, ibique tria castella communiit, Bornos, Bizanthen, Neontichos,[5] manuque collecta primus Graecae civitatis in Thraciam introiit,[6] gloriosius existimans barbarorum praeda locupletari quam Graiorum.[7] Qua ex re creverat cum fama tum opibus, magnamque amicitiam sibi cum quibusdam regibus Thraciae pepererat.

8. Neque tamen a caritate patriae potuit recedere. Nam cum apud Aegos flumen[8] Philocles, praetor Atheniensium, classem constituisset suam, neque longe abesset Lysander, praetor Lacedaemoniorum, qui in eo erat occupatus, ut bellum quam diutissime duceret, quod ipsis pecunia a rege[9] suppeditabatur, contra Atheniensibus exhaustis praeter arma et naves nihil erat super,[10] Alcibiades ad exercitum venit Atheniensium, ibique praesente vulgo[11] agere coepit: si vellent, se coacturum Lysandrum dimicare, aut pacem petere; spondet[12] Lacedaemonios eo nolle classe confligere, quod

[1] As to *huic (Alcibiadi) malo fuisse*, see *Gram.* § 270; *Elem. Gram.* 289. *Nimiam opinionem*, 'the excessively high opinion' (entertained by his fellow-citizens.)

[2] *Ne* refers to *timebatur*, which is the emphatic verb in the preceding clause.

[3] *Magistratus* here is chiefly 'military power,' though properly it is 'a civil office,' *imperium* being 'military power.' *Alium*—namely, Conon, as we learn from other authors.

[4] A town on the coast of the Thracian Chersonesus. (*Milt.* 1, p. 4, n. 4.)

[5] *Bornos* seems to be plural, accusative of *Borni*; *Neontichos* (Νέον τεῖχος = Newcastle) is singular and neuter.

[6] This can refer only to the interior of the country, for the coast had been long visited and indeed colonised by Greeks. Alcibiades was now captain of a band of robbers, and he had three forts from which he made excursions into the neighbouring districts.

[7] Poetical for *Graecorum*. See *Praefatio*, p. 2, n. 1.

[8] See *Lysand.* 1, p. 50, n. 2. There were six Athenian commanders, but Philocles was the acting leader on the day of the battle.

[9] See chapter 7, p. 61, n. 10.

[10] *Erat super* is for *supererat*, the components being separated by the figure called *tmesis*.

[11] *Vulgus* here means 'the common soldiers,' as distinguished from the generals. *Agere cum aliquo*, or sometimes, as here, *agere* alone, is 'to treat, discourse upon a matter, with a person.'

[12] *Spondet*, 'he declares solemnly.' *Eo* is 'for this reason.' *Spondet*

pedestribus copiis plus quam navibus valerent; sibi autem esse facile, Seuthem, regem Thracum, deducere,[1] ut eum terra depelleret; quo facto, necessario aut classe conflicturum, aut bellum compositurum.[2] Id etsi vere dictum Philocles animadvertebat, tamen postulata facere noluit, quod sentiebat se, Alcibiade recepto,[3] nullius momenti apud exercitum futurum, et si quid secundi evenisset, nullam in ea re suam partem[4] fore, contra ea, si quid adversi accidisset, se unum ejus delicti[5] futurum reum. Ab hoc discedens Alcibiades 'Quoniam,' inquit, 'victoriae patriae repugnas, illud[6] moneo, juxta hostem castra habeas nautica: periculum est enim, ne immodestia[7] militum vestrorum occasio detur Lysandro vestri opprimendi exercitus.' Neque ea res illum fefellit. Nam Lysander, cum per speculatores comperisset vulgum[8] Atheniensium in terram praedatum exisse, navesque paene

Lacedaemonios—nolle—quod valerent is, strictly speaking, irregular, for *spondet, etc. quod valeant.* See *Gram.* § 364, n. 2. *Copiae pedestres* are here evidently opposed not to *equestres*, but to *navales*, and are therefore, in fact, *copiae terrestres.*

1 *Deducere*, 'to induce,' as not unfrequently. *Eum*—that is, Lysander, who is the subject of the next clause.

2 *Bellum componere* is 'to finish a war by treaty.'

3 This ablative absolute is the *protasis* (conditional member) of a hypothetical sentence: 'if Alcibiades were received as a leader.'

4 'His share.' If there was any success in consequence of Alcibiades's efforts, he (Philocles) would have no share in the honour; whereas, if there was failure, he was legally responsible for the conduct of the expedition.

5 That is, the defeat; for Athens, like most other states, was never disposed to attribute the loss of a battle to any inferiority in the number or in the skill of her soldiers, but always to some fault in the leader.

6 'This,' 'the following,' as very frequently. As to *ut* omitted after *moneo*, see *Gram.* § 352, n. 1. *Castra nautica* may be either a figurative expression for 'the place where your ships are anchored,' 'your anchorage,' or a regular camp, a fortified place on the shore, in which the ships lie, drawn up. The former seems to be the meaning here. He advises Philocles to take up an anchorage near the Spartans (that is, nearer than he was at the time), in order that the Athenian soldiers might be deterred by the nearness of the foe from wandering away from the ships. The words *juxta hostem* are placed first in the clause, because the essence of the advice lies in them.

7 See *Lysand.* 1, p. 49, n. 4. Observe that in the former part of the sentence he was addressing Philocles alone, *repugnas, habeas;* now he turns to all the commanders, *vestrorum*, 'your,' not *tuorum*, 'thy.' *Gram.* § 116; *Elem. Gram.* 105.

8 *Vulgus* is much oftener used as neuter than as masculine: *Gram.* § 59, note, end; *Elem. Gram.* 40, 4. *Praedatum* is the supine.

inanes relictas, tempus[1] rei gerendae non dimisit, eoque impetu bellum totum delevit.

9. At Alcibiades, victis Atheniensibus, non satis tuta eadem loca sibi arbitrans, penitus in Thraciam se supra Propontidem[2] abdidit, sperans ibi facillime suam fortunam[3] occuli posse. Falso. Nam Thraces, postquam eum cum magna pecunia venisse senserunt, insidias fecerunt; qui ea quae apportarat abstulerunt, ipsum capere non potuerunt. Ille, cernens nullum locum sibi tutum in Graecia propter potentiam Lacedaemoniorum, ad Pharnabazum in Asiam transiit; quem quidem adeo sua cepit humanitate,[4] ut eum nemo in amicitia antecederet. Namque ei Grynium[5] dederat, in Phrygia castrum, ex quo quinquagena[6] talenta vectigalis capiebat. Qua fortuna Alcibiades non erat contentus, neque Athenas victas Lacedaemoniis servire poterat pati. Itaque ad patriam liberandam omni ferebatur cogitatione.[7] Sed videbat id sine rege Persarum[8] non posse fieri, ideoque eum amicum sibi

[1] 'The opportunity.' See chapter 5, p. 59, n. 2. *Bellum totum delevit*, 'annihilated the whole war,' 'ended at once the whole war'—a very striking expression. The victory was so complete, that Athens could not strike another blow, and practically was already in the hands of the Lacedaemonians.

[2] Propontis, now the Sea of Marmora, between the Aegean and the Euxine Seas. It had its name from the fact of its lying *pro Ponto Euxino*.

[3] This might mean 'his wealth,' though the plural is more properly used in this sense; but it is better to understand it as meaning 'his fate,' 'his unhappy fortune'—that is, himself in his misfortune.

[4] *Humanitas* comprehends fine taste, polished manners, and, in fact, everything that constitutes the 'art of pleasing.' It may be rendered by 'pleasing manners.'

[5] Grynium was a small fortified town (*castrum*) of Aeolis, in the south-west of Mysia, to the north of Cyme (chapter 7.) Though not in the district properly called Phrygia, yet it was in the satrapy of Pharnabazus, which was called generally the satrapy of Phrygia. *Namque* introduces a proof that Pharnabazus loved Alcibiades.

[6] *Quinquagena*, the distributive, 'fifty annually.' The sum is nearly L.12,200. *Vectigalis* is an exegetical or explanatory genitive, merely stating particularly under what name the money came to Alcibiades. *Gram.* § 274; *Elem. Gram.* 292, end.

[7] 'He was impelled by all his thoughts'—that is, he was constantly thinking of the humbled position of his native country, and these thoughts worked in him an ardent desire for its liberation.

[8] The king of Persia at this time was Artaxerxes Mnemon. His younger brother Cyrus was a satrap in Asia Minor, but was ambitious of the throne. He marched against the king in 401 B.C. with a considerable army, comprising upwards of ten thousand Greeks, besides his own Asiatics, and defeated him, but fell in the battle.

cupiebat adjungi, neque dubitabat facile se consecuturum, si modo ejus conveniundi habuisset potestatem. Nam Cyrum fratrem ei bellum clam parare, Lacedaemoniis adjuvantibus, sciebat: id si aperuisset, magnam se initurum gratiam videbat.

10. Hoc cum moliretur, peteretque a Pharnabazo, ut ad regem mitteretur, eodem tempore Critias ceterique tyranni[1] Atheniensium certos homines ad Lysandrum in Asiam miserunt, qui eum certiorem facerent, nisi Alcibiadem sustulisset, nihil earum rerum fore ratum, quas ipse Athenis constituisset: quare, si suas res gestas manere vellet, illum persequeretur.[2] His Laco[3] rebus commotus statuit accuratius[4] sibi agendum cum Pharnabazo. Huic ergo renunciat,[5] quae regi cum Lacedaemoniis essent, nisi Alcibiadem vivum aut mortuum sibi tradidisset. Non tulit hoc[6] satrapes, et violare clementiam[7] quam regis opes minui maluit. Itaque misit Susametrem et Bagaeum[8] ad Alcibiadem interficiendum, cum ille esset in Phrygia iterque ad regem compararet. Missi clam[9] vicinitati, in qua tum Alcibiades erat, dant negotium, ut eum interficiant. Illi cum ferro aggredi non auderent, noctu ligna contulerunt circa casam eam, in qua quiescebat, eaque succenderunt, ut incendio conficerent, quem manu superari posse diffidebant. Ille autem, ut sonitu flammae est excitatus, etsi gladius ei erat subductus, familiaris

[1] When Lysander became master of Athens in 404 B.C., he intrusted the government to thirty men, who administered their trust with the utmost rapacity and cruelty. Critias—an unworthy pupil of Socrates—was one of these, and distinguished himself in tyranny above the rest. *Certos homines*, not 'certain men,' in our sense of the expression (this would be *quosdam*), but 'safe men,' 'men on whom they could depend.'

[2] 'He should follow him to the death.' *Persequeretur* represents the imperative of the direct form. *Gram.* § 388, n. 2; *Elem. Gram.* 362, end.

[3] 'The Spartan,' properly 'the Laconian,' Sparta being in the district of Laconia. Lysander is meant.

[4] 'More carefully or strictly'—that is, that he must come to a more definite understanding with the satrap in regard to their relations to each other.

[5] 'He renounces the alliance which the king had with the Lacedaemonians.' As to *renunciat quae essent*, compare chapter 8, p. 62, n. 12.

[6] 'Could not bear this,' the breaking of the alliance.

[7] 'To break his promise of kind treatment and protection' to Alcibiades.

[8] Susametres was the uncle, and Bagaeus the half-brother of the satrap.

[9] *Clam* appears to belong to *missi*. *Vicinitati* is for *vicinis*, the abstract for the concrete, as frequently *civitas* for *cives*.

sui subalare telum[1] eripuit. Namque erat cum eo quidam ex Arcadia[2] hospes, qui nunquam discedere voluerat. Hunc sequi se jubet, et id quod[3] in praesentia vestimentorum fuit arripit. His in ignem ejectis,[4] flammae vim transiit. Quem ut barbari incendium effugisse viderunt, telis eminus missis interfecerunt, caputque ejus ad Pharnabazum retulerunt. At mulier, quae cum eo vivere consuerat, muliebri sua veste contectum aedificii incendio mortuum cremavit, quod ad vivum interimendum erat comparatum.[5] Sic Alcibiades, annos circiter quadraginta natus,[6] diem obiit supremum.

11. Hunc infamatum a plerisque tres gravissimi historici[7] summis laudibus extulerunt: Thucydides,[8] qui ejusdem aetatis fuit, Theopompus, qui post aliquanto natus, et Timaeus; qui quidem duo[9] maledicentissimi, nescio quo modo,[10] in illo uno

[1] *Subalare telum* is a short dagger, which can conveniently be carried *sub ala*, 'under the arm.' *Eripuit*—namely, from the sheath, or from the place where it lay.

[2] The central division of Peloponnesus. It was chiefly a pastoral district, and the simple and faithful character of the people is much celebrated in song.

[3] Strictly *id vestimentorum quod: Gram.* § 275, *a*. But the genitive is drawn into the relative clause.

[4] 'Having thrown these out'—namely, out of the room where he was. He thus formed, as it were, a sort of bridge over the flames.

[5] 'Burned him when dead (that is, his dead body) in the fire which had been prepared to consume him alive.'

[6] This is a mistake. He must have been about forty-six. As to this use of *natus*, see *Gram.* § 256, n. 3; *Elem. Gram.* 276.

[7] 'Three very eminent historians.' *Gravis* is often thus used figuratively of a man whose character or abilities give him some substantial importance. *Historicus* is very rarely used as a substantive in the best age of the language. A circumlocution was generally employed—such as *historiarum scriptor*, *rerum gestarum pronuntiator*.

[8] As to Thucydides, see *Themist.* 9, p. 28, n. 12. Theopompus (born about 378, died probably about 300 B.C.) was a native of the island of Chios, and wrote, among other works, a continuation of the history of Thucydides. Timaeus (born about 350, died about 254 B.C.) was a native of Tauromenium, in Sicily, and wrote a history of that island. Neither the work of Theopompus nor that of Timaeus is extant. *Aliquanto* here may be translated by 'not very long:' he was born about twenty-six years after the death of Alcibiades. To *natus* supply *fuit* from the preceding clause.

[9] That is, the two last mentioned. Both of them, especially Timaeus, were notoriously *maledici*, 'fond of speaking evil of others.'

[10] 'I know not how.' *Nescio* is very often thus used in semi-adverbial phrases, as *dixit nescio quid*, 'he said something, I do not know what'—that is, something trifling, not worth remembering.

laudando concinuerunt. Namque ea quae supra scripsimus[1] de eo praedicarunt, atque hoc amplius: cum Athenis, splendidissima civitate,[2] natus esset, omnes splendore ac dignitate superasse vitae; postquam inde expulsus Thebas venerit,[3] adeo studiis eorum inservisse,[4] ut nemo eum labore corporisque viribus posset aequiparare (omnes enim Boeotii magis firmitati corporis quam ingenii acumini inserviunt);[5] eundem apud Lacedaemonios,[6] quorum moribus summa virtus in patientia ponebatur, sic duritiae se dedisse, ut parsimonia victus atque cultus omnes Lacedaemonios vinceret; fuisse[7] apud Thracas, homines vinolentos rebusque veneriis deditos: hos quoque in his rebus antecessisse; venisse ad Persas, apud quos summa laus esset fortiter venari, luxuriose vivere: horum sic imitatum consuetudinem, ut illi ipsi eum in his maxime admirarentur. Quibus rebus effecisse, ut, apud quoscumque esset, princeps poneretur[8] habereturque carissimus. Sed satis de hoc; reliquos ordiamur.[9]

1 In the first and second chapters.

2 The more common construction would be, *in splendidissima civitate*. *Gram.* § 268, n. 2.

3 See chapter 4. As to *venerit*, see *Gram.* § 365.

4 Compare *Themist.* 1, p. 17, n. 1. *Eorum* is *Thebanorum*, which must be taken out of *Thebas*. Both before *superasse* and *inservisse* the subject *eum* is omitted.

5 In fact, they were notorious for their stupidity and want of intellectual culture. They had, notwithstanding, some distinguished writers, as Pindar and Hesiod.

6 See chapters 4 and 5.

7 The more natural mode of putting this would be, not as a distinct statement, but as a subordinate clause, *cum esset*, and, in the same way, a little below, *cum venisset ad Persas*. *Thracas*, Greek accusative for *Thraces*. *Gram.* § 70, 7. As to his life among the Thracians, see chapter 7, end.

8 'Was esteemed.' See *Praefatio*, p. 2, n. 10.

9 'Let us begin the rest,' for 'let us begin the lives of the rest.' See *Themist.* 1, p. 16, n. 6.

VIII. THRASYBULUS.

1. THRASYBULUS, Lyci filius, Atheniensis. Si per se virtus sine fortuna ponderanda sit, dubito an[1] hunc primum omnium ponam: illud sine dubio; neminem huic praefero fide, constantia, magnitudine animi, in patriam amore. Nam quod multi voluerunt, pauci potuerunt,[2] ab uno tyranno patriam liberare, huic contigit ut a triginta oppressam tyrannis e servitute in libertatem vindicaret. Sed, nescio quo modo,[3] cum eum nemo anteiret his virtutibus, multi nobilitate praecucurrerunt. Primum[4] Peloponnesio bello multa hic sine Alcibiade gessit, ille[5] nullam rem sine hoc; quae ille universa

[1] *Dubito an*, in the best writers, is always used as intimating a doubt, but at the same time an inclination towards the affirmative. Thus here, 'I think I should reckon this man the first of all.' There is still hesitation here, however, but *illud sine dubio* (*est*), 'this (the following) is undoubtedly true.'

[2] 'What many have had the will, few the ability to accomplish—namely, to free,' &c. The omission of 'but' gives terseness and strength. *Id* understood is antecedent to *quod*, and the clause with *liberare* is in apposition to *id*. The sentence is irregularly constructed. It should have gone on thus, *non id solum huic contigit* ('fell to his lot') *sed ut—vindicaret*. The construction—or rather want of construction—as it stands exhibits a sort of colloquial carelessness and curtness, the relative clause being unconnected with the rest of the sentence. To *oppressam* supply *patriam*—namely, Athens. As to the thirty tyrants, see *Alcib.* 10, p. 65, n. 1.

[3] See *Alcib.* 11, p. 66, n. 10. *Nobilitas*, here 'fame,' a meaning which the substantive but seldom has; it generally refers to birth. *Praecurrere*, 'to surpass,' a metaphor taken from a race. It forms its perfect either with or without the reduplication. Compare *Gram.* § 134, n. 2.

[4] 'First, then,' or 'to mention his first exploits.'

[5] Generally, when *ille* and *hic* are opposed, *ille* means 'the former,' the person furthest removed, and *hic*, 'the latter,' the person nearest. Here, however, the case is reversed, for *ille* is Alcibiades, and *hic* Thrasybulus. We find this occasionally in the best writers, and in

naturali quodam bono fecit lucri.[1] Sed illa tamen omnia[2] communia imperatoribus cum militibus et Fortuna, quod in proelii concursu[3] abit res a consilio ad vires vimque pugnantium. Itaque jure suo nonnulla ab imperatore miles, plurima vero Fortuna vindicat, seque hic[4] plus valuisse quam ducis prudentiam vere potest praedicare. Quare[5] illud magnificentissimum factum proprium est Thrasybuli. Nam cum triginta tyranni, praepositi a Lacedaemoniis, servitute oppressas tenerent Athenas, plurimos cives, quibus in bello parserat[6] Fortuna, partim patria expulissent, partim interfecissent, plurimorum bona publicata inter se divisissent, non solum princeps, sed et[7] solus initio, bellum his indixit.

2. Hic enim cum Phylen[8] confugisset, quod est castellum in Attica munitissimum, non plus habuit secum triginta de suis. Hoc initium fuit salutis Atticorum, hoc robur[9] libertatis

the present case it is readily accounted for by the fact, that in the preceding clause *hic* is used to designate Thrasybulus, the subject of the biography.

[1] Construe thus: *quae universa ille lucrifecit quodam naturali bono*, 'all of which exploits the former (Alcibiades) made gain of (gained honour by), through some natural gift that he had.' Though Thrasybulus had perhaps more merit in a victory than Alcibiades, yet the latter's person was so beautiful, his manners were so attractive, and his abilities so great, that the Athenians instinctively gave all the praise to him. *Fecit lucri* by *tmesis* for *lucrifecit*. Compare *Alcib.* 8, p. 62, n. 10.

[2] *Illa omnia*, 'all such things,' triumphs in war. Supply *sunt*.

[3] 'In the shock of battle.' *Vires vimque*, 'strength and number.'

[4] 'Here,' 'in the matter,' 'in gaining the victory.' As to the accusative *prudentiam*, see *Gram.* § 387.

[5] *Quare* appears to refer rather to a thought in the author's mind than to what he has expressed: 'soldiers have a very great share in the merit of a victory, and consequently an exploit can be justly ascribed to a general only when he performs it with few soldiers or none. Wherefore the following most glorious deed is truly Thrasybulus's own.' As to the construction of *proprius*, see *Gram.* § 277, 6; *Elem. Gram.* 295, 6.

[6] *Parsi* is an old form of the perfect of *parco*, for *peperci*. *Gram.* § 157; *Elem. Gram.* 164.

[7] *Non solum—sed et*, 'not only—but even.' 'Not only—but also' must be expressed by *non solum—sed etiam*.

[8] A fortress about fifteen miles north of Athens. Thrasybulus did not flee to it: he came with a small band from Thebes, where he was living in banishment, and took it. As to *quod*, see *Gram.* § 232, 3; *Elem. Gram.* 252, end. *Plus triginta*; *Gram.* § 305, n. 4.

[9] 'This was the strong support.' *Robur*, properly 'oak-wood;' hence anything strong.

clarissimae civitatis. Neque vero hic non[1] contemptus est primo a tyrannis, atque ejus solitudo. Quae quidem res et illis contemnentibus pernicii,[2] et huic despecto saluti fuit. Haec enim illos segnes ad persequendum, hos autem, tempore ad comparandum[3] dato, fecit robustiores. Quo magis praeceptum illud omnium in animis esse debet, nihil in bello oportere contemni, neque sine causa dici matrem timidi flere non solere.[4] Neque tamen pro opinione Thrasybuli auctae sunt opes.[5] Nam jam tum illis temporibus[6] fortius boni pro libertate loquebantur, quam pugnabant. Hinc[7] in Piraeeum transiit Munychiamque munivit. Hanc[8] bis tyranni oppugnare sunt adorti, ab eaque turpiter repulsi protinus in urbem, armis impedimentisque amissis, refugerunt. Usus est Thrasybulus non minus prudentia quam fortitudine. Nam cedentes violari vetuit: cives enim civibus parcere aequum censebat. Neque quisquam est vulneratus, nisi qui prior impugnare voluit. Neminem jacentem[9] veste spoliavit, nil attigit nisi arma, quorum indigebat, quaeque ad victum pertinebant. In secundo proelio[10] cecidit Critias, dux tyrannorum, cum quidem[11] exadversus Thrasybulum fortissime pugnaret.

3. Hoc dejecto,[12] Pausanias venit Atticis auxilio, rex Lace-

[1] *Neque vero non*—that is, 'but certainly.' *Ejus solitudo*, 'his solitude,' a fine expression for 'the fewness of his band.'

[2] Contracted for *perniciei:* compare *Gram.* § 73, n. 2. *Huic*—that is, *Thrasybulo*, but referring also to his companions, as we see from the *hos* in the next sentence.

[3] 'For preparation.' This absolute use of the verb is very rare.

[4] This clause is the subject to *omnium in animis esse debet* repeated. *Timidus* here is not 'cowardly,' but 'cautious,' 'provident.'

[5] This is a mistake. He had very soon a thousand men.

[6] *Illis temporibus* is superfluous.

[7] 'Hence'—that is, from Phyle. The author should have expressed this more definitely, for Phyle has not been mentioned since the beginning of the chapter. As to the ports of Athens, compare *Themist.* 6, p. 23, notes 3 and 4. The port of Munychia lay between the Piraeeus and Phalerum.

[8] Munychia. *Bis:* other authors mention only one attack.

[9] That is, *mortuum, occisum;* as *cadere* is often used in the sense of *occidi. Quorum indigebat: Gram.* § 296, n. 1.

[10] There was but one, as stated in n. 8. As to Critias, see *Alcib.* 10, p. 65, n. 1.

[11] *Quidem* here can hardly be translated, unless by 'however'—that is, notwithstanding his being a tyrant, he was fighting bravely. As to *exadversus* (here simply 'against'), see *Themist.* 3, p. 20, n. 10.

[12] '*After* he (Critias) was thus cast down from his height of pride.'

daemoniorum. Is inter Thrasybulum et eos, qui urbem tenebant, fecit pacem his conditionibus: ne qui praeter triginta tyrannos et decem, qui postea praetores[1] creati superioris more crudelitatis erant usi, afficerentur exilio, neve[2] bona publicarentur; reipublicae procuratio populo redderetur.[3] Praeclarum hoc quoque Thrasybuli,[4] quod, reconciliata pace, cum plurimum in civitate posset, legem tulit, ne quis ante actarum rerum accusaretur neve multaretur; eamque illi[5] oblivionis appellarunt. Neque vero hanc tantum ferendam curavit, sed etiam ut valeret effecit. Nam cum quidam ex iis, qui simul cum eo in exilio fuerant, caedem facere eorum vellent, cum quibus in gratiam reditum erat publice, prohibuit, et id quod pollicitus erat praestitit.

4. Huic[6] pro tantis meritis honoris corona a populo data est, facta duabus virgulis oleaginis; quam quod amor[7] civium

The Pausanias here mentioned was the grandson of the Pausanias whose life Nepos has written. He was jealous of the power of Lysander, and wished to counteract him in his designs against the liberty of Athens. *Venit auxilio Atticis*: *Gram.* § 270; *Elem. Gram.* 289. *Atticus* is commonly used as referring to the language or manners of the Athenians: where the members of the state, citizens of Athens, are to be indicated, *Athenienses* is the usual word. The date of the events narrated in this chapter is 403 B.C.

[1] As to *praetores*, see *Milt.* 4, p. 9, n. 13. *Superioris more crudelitatis erant usi*, 'had used (adopted) the custom (practice) of the former cruelty'—that is, had conducted themselves in the same cruel manner as their predecessors, the Thirty. The indicative, *usi erant*, shews that this relative clause is not a quotation from the treaty, but a remark thrown in by Nepos himself to explain why the Ten were also to be punished.

[2] 'Nor.' *Neve* stands in the same relation to *ne* as *neque* does to *non*.

[3] 'That the management of the republic should be restored to the people'—that is, that the democracy should be re-established. Out of *ne*, *ut* must be taken for this clause. Such a case occurs often, and is readily accounted for by the fact, that *ne* is equivalent to *ut non*.

[4] *Hoc Thrasybuli*, 'the following deed of Thrasybulus.' The pronoun here has entirely the force of a substantive, and hence governs the genitive. Supply *est*. *Plurimum posse*, 'to have most power,' *potentiam plurimam habere*.

[5] Supply *legem*: 'they called that an act of oblivion,' or 'an amnesty.' The offences of the time of the Thirty were to be considered as forgotten.

[6] Not to him alone, but also to all who had been with him at Phyle (chapter 2.)

[7] *Expresserat* is quite a proper verb for *vis*, but not for *amor*, and to the latter we must supply out of it some suitable word, as *tribuerat*. When a verb belongs to several substantives in somewhat different senses, the figure is called *zeugma*.

et non vis expresserat, nullam habuit invidiam, magnaque fuit gloria.[1] Bene ergo Pittacus[2] ille, qui in septem sapientum[3] numero est habitus, cum Mytilenaei agri munera ei, multa milia jugerum, darent, 'Nolite, oro vos,' inquit, 'id mihi dare, quod multi invideant, plures etiam concupiscant. Quare ex istis[4] nolo amplius quam centum jugera, quae et meam animi aequitatem et vestram voluntatem indicent.' Nam parva munera diutina, locupletia non propria[5] esse consuerunt. Illa igitur[6] corona contentus Thrasybulus neque amplius requisivit, neque quemquam honore se antecessisse[7] existimavit. Hic sequenti tempore,[8] cum praetor classem ad Ciliciam appulisset, neque satis diligenter in castris ejus agerentur vigiliae, a barbaris, ex oppido noctu eruptione facta, in tabernaculo interfectus est.

[1] *Gram.* § 306; *Elem. Gram.* 319. Had the *corona honoris*, and not Thrasybulus, been the subject of *fuit*, then the dative would have been used. *Gram.* § 270; *Elem. Gram.* 289.

[2] Pittacus, a native of Mytilene, in the island of Lesbos, was one of 'The Seven Wise Men of Greece.' He flourished about 600 B.C.

[3] As to the genitive plural of *sapiens*, see *Gram.* § 67, 4; *Elem. Gram.* 47, 4; and as to *jugerum*, *Gram.* § 81, 5; *Elem. Gram.* 58, 5.

[4] 'Those many acres which you are offering me.' As to the distinction between *hic*, *ille*, and *iste*, see *Gram.* § 115; *Elem. Gram.* 103.

[5] 'One's own;' hence 'lasting,' since a person's property may continue his so long as he lives. *Consuerunt* for *consueverunt*: *Gram.* § 141, 1; *Elem. Gram.* 135, 1.

[6] *Igitur* is used here, as *ergo* often, in the sense of 'to return to the subject.'

[7] *Quemquam* is subject, and *se* object to *antecessisse*.

[8] In the year 390 B.C. Thrasybulus was killed near Aspendus, a town in Pamphylia (not, as Nepos says, Cilicia), on the river Eurymedon.

IX. CONON.

1. CONON, Atheniensis, Peloponnesio bello accessit ad rempublicam,[1] in eoque ejus opera magni fuit.[2] Nam et praetor[3] pedestribus exercitibus praefuit, et praefectus classis magnas res mari gessit. Quas ob causas praecipuus ei honos habitus est. Namque omnibus unus insulis praefuit; in qua potestate Pheras cepit, coloniam Lacedaemoniorum.[4] Fuit etiam extremo Peloponnesio bello[5] praetor, cum apud Aegos flumen copiae Atheniensium a Lysandro sunt devictae.[6] Sed tum afuit,[7] eoque pejus res administrata est. Nam et prudens rei militaris et diligens erat imperii.[8] Itaque nemini erat his temporibus dubium, si affuisset,[9] illam Athenienses calamitatem accepturos non fuisse.

1 'Entered into public life.'

2 'His services were of great consequence.' As to the phrase, compare *Datames*, 1; and as to the genitive *magni*, see *Gram.* § 283; *Elem. Gram.* 300.

3 Here 'a general,' as opposed to *praefectus classis*, 'an admiral.' But *praetor* is also used—indeed it occurs a little below—in the sense of 'a commander at sea.' As to *pedestribus*, compare *Alcib.* 8, p. 62, n. 12.

4 The statement made in this sentence should chronologically be in chapter 4. The Pherae here mentioned was a town in Messenia, a district of Peloponnesus. There was another town of the same name in Thessaly.

5 That is, not 'in the last Peloponnesian war,' but 'in the end of the Peloponnesian war,' on the same principle as we say *summa arbor*, 'the top of the tree.'

6 *Cum*, indicating purely time, is construed with the indicative. *Gram.* § 355; *Elem. Gram.* 354. As to the battle of Aegospotami, see *Lysand.* 1.

7 This is an error. He was present, but escaped with eight ships.

8 *Diligens imperii*, 'strict and careful in his command.' *Gram.* § 277, 1; *Elem. Gram.* 295, 1.

9 Rather (see n. 7), if he had had more influence with the other commanders.

2. Rebus autem afflictis, cum patriam[1] obsideri audisset, non quaesivit, ubi ipse tuto viveret, sed unde praesidio posset esse civibus suis. Itaque contulit se ad Pharnabazum, satrapem Ioniae et Lydiae,[2] eundemque generum regis et propinquum;[3] apud quem ut multum gratia valeret, multo labore multisque effecit periculis. Nam cum Lacedaemonii, Atheniensibus devictis, in societate non manerent, quam cum Artaxerxe fecerant,[4] Agesilaumque[5] bellatum misissent in Asiam, maxime impulsi a Tissapherne, qui ex intimis regis[6] ab amicitia ejus defecerat et cum Lacedaemoniis coierat societatem, hunc adversus[7] Pharnabazus habitus est imperator, re quidem vera exercitui praefuit Conon,[8] ejusque omnia arbitrio gesta sunt. Hic multum ducem summum Agesilaum impedivit, saepeque ejus consiliis obstitit; neque vero non fuit apertum,[9] si ille non fuisset,[10] Agesilaum Asiam Tauro[11] tenus regi fuisse erepturum.[12] Qui posteaquam domum a suis civibus revocatus est,[13] quod Boeotii et

[1] *Patria* is merely the feminine of the adjective *patrius*, and we must understand generally *terra*, but sometimes, as here, *urbs*. Athens was besieged by Lysander in 404 B.C. Nepos makes a historical blunder in this chapter. Conon did not go to the satrap Pharnabazus till 398 B.C., seven years after the battle of Aegospotami. He went first to Cyprus, to his friend Evagoras, king of Salamis.

[2] It should be, of Phrygia. Tissaphernes was satrap of Ionia and Lydia.

[3] That is, *consanguineum*, 'a blood-relation.' As to *eundemque*, compare *Themist.* 9, p. 29, n. 5.

[4] It had been made not with Artaxerxes, but with his father Darius. However, it had probably been regularly confirmed since the accession of Artaxerxes.

[5] King of Sparta. See his life by Nepos. *Bellatum* is the supine. Agesilaus did not take the command in Asia till 396 B.C., but the war had been carried on since 399 by the Lacedaemonian generals Thimbron and Dercyllidas.

[6] 'From being among the king's most confidential friends.'

[7] This preposition is seldom found after the word it governs. Compare *Pausan.* 4, p. 41, n. 4.

[8] 'Pharnabazus was held as (was nominally) general, but in reality Conon commanded the army.' *Re vera* are often written as one word.

[9] 'Nor certainly was it not (that is, and certainly it was) evident.'

[10] 'If he had not existed.' *Esse* is used here in its original sense. The expression has quite the force of our colloquial phrase, 'if it had not been for him.'

[11] A range of mountains in the east of Asia Minor.

[12] Equivalent to *eripuisse*. *Gram.* § 346, 1. Compare *accepturos fuisse* in chapter 1, end.

[13] In 394 B.C.

Athenienses Lacedaemoniis bellum indixerant, Conon nihilo secius apud praefectos regis versabatur, hisque omnibus magno erat usui.[1]

3. Defecerat a rege Tissaphernes, neque id tam Artaxerxi quam ceteris erat apertum. Multis enim magnisque meritis[2] apud regem, etiam cum in officio non maneret, valebat. Neque id mirandum, si non facile ad credendum adducebatur, reminiscens ejus se opera Cyrum fratrem superasse.[3] Hujus accusandi gratia Conon a Pharnabazo ad regem missus, posteaquam venit, primum ex more Persarum ad chiliarchum,[4] qui secundum gradum imperii tenebat, Tithraustem accessit, seque ostendit cum rege colloqui velle. Nemo enim sine hoc[5] admittitur. Huic ille 'Nulla,' inquit, 'mora est;[6] sed tu delibera, utrum colloqui malis, an per litteras agere quae cogitas. Necesse est enim, si in conspectum veneris,[7] venerari te regem' (quod προσκύνησιν illi vocant.) 'Hoc si tibi grave est, per me nihilo secius, editis mandatis, conficies quod studes.' Tum Conon 'Mihi vero,' inquit, 'non est grave quemvis honorem habere regi;[8] sed vereor, ne civitati meae sit opprobrio, si, cum ex ea sim profectus, quae ceteris gentibus

1 'Was of great advantage.' *Gram.* § 270; *Elem. Gram.* 289.

2 'In consequence of many great services.' Strictly, *propter multa magnaque merita* should be the construction; but see *Gram.* § 292, note.

3 See *Alcib.* 9, p. 64, n. 8.

4 This is originally a Greek word, meaning 'the commander of a thousand men.' The chiliarch (χιλίαρχος or χιλιάρχης) here spoken of was the commander of the household troops, or emperor's body-guard, an office much more important in a barbarous state than with us. The chiliarch was, in fact, vizier or prime minister.

5 'Without this'—that is, without going first to the chiliarch. *Hoc* might also be masculine, referring to *chiliarchum.*

6 'There is no hinderance'—that is, you may go in to the king, if you please.

7 *Te* is subject to *venerari.* The Greek word προσκύνησιν (pronounced *proskynēsin*) means 'adoration.' This (among the eastern nations) consisted in throwing one's self down upon the face, and kissing the ground. To perform such an act before any earthly being was with justice utterly repugnant to the feelings of a free Greek, though the Asiatics, accustomed to the usages of a despotic court, did not feel it as anything degrading. *Illi* must refer to the Greeks, though we should naturally refer it to the Persians. The expression is careless.

8 Conon says this, in consideration of his delicate position. In reality, no doubt, he was spurning the idea of prostrating himself before a barbarian king.

imperare consuerit,[1] potius barbarorum quam illius more fungar.' Itaque huic quae volebat scripta tradidit.

4. Quibus cognitis, rex tantum auctoritate ejus motus est, ut et Tissaphernem hostem judicarit,[2] et Lacedaemonios bello persequi jusserit, et ei permiserit, quem vellet, eligere ad dispensandam pecuniam. Id arbitrium Conon negavit sui esse consilii, sed ipsius,[3] qui optime suos nosse[4] deberet; sed se suadere, Pharnabazo id negotii daret. Hinc, magnis muneribus donatus, ad mare est missus, ut Cypriis et Phoenicibus,[5] ceterisque maritimis civitatibus, naves longas imperaret classemque, qua proxima aestate mare tueri posset, compararet, dato adjutore Pharnabazo, sicut ipse voluerat. Id ut Lacedaemoniis est nuntiatum, non sine cura[6] rem administrant, quod majus bellum imminere arbitrabantur, quam si cum barbaro solum contenderent. Nam ducem fortem et prudentem regis opibus praefuturum ac secum dimicaturum videbant, quem neque consilio neque copiis superare possent. Hac mente magnam contrahunt classem; proficiscuntur Pisandro[7] duce. Hos Conon apud Cnidum[8] adortus magno proelio fugat, multas naves capit, complures deprimit. Qua victoria non solum Athenae, sed etiam cuncta Graecia, quae sub Lacedaemoniorum fuerat imperio, liberata est.[9] Conon cum parte navium in patriam venit,[10] muros dirutos a Lysandro utrosque et Piraeei et

[1] For *consueverit: Gram.* § 141, 1; *Elem. Gram.* 135, 1. As to the subjunctive, see *Gram.* § 360, 3; *Elem. Gram.* 360, 3.

[2] As to the use of the perfect subjunctive, see *Gram.* § 364, n. 1.

[3] 'Conon said that that choice (the choice of a person to manage the money affairs) did not fall properly under his consideration, but under that of the king himself.' *Nego* has often to be translated by 'I say that —not.' As to *sui esse consilii*, see *Gram.* § 279; *Elem. Gram.* 296, middle.

[4] For *novisse: Gram.* § 141, 1; *Elem. Gram.* 135, 1. In the next clause, *ut* is omitted after *suadere: Gram.* § 352, n. 1. As to *id negotii*, see *Gram.* § 275, *a; Elem. Gram.* 293.

[5] Both the Cyprians and Phoenicians were famed as sailors. *Imperare* often means 'to demand,' as well as 'to command.'

[6] That is, with great care.

[7] Brother-in-law of King Agesilaus. *Pisandro duce* is an ablative absolute. *Gram.* § 405, n. 2; *Elem. Gram.* 322.

[8] A town in the south-west of Caria, in Asia Minor. The battle of Cnidus took place in 394 B.C.

[9] Athens had become free in 403 B.C. See *Thrasybulus.* But this victory delivered the islands and Greek Asia Minor from the sway of Lacedaemon.

[10] *This was* in 393 B.C., the year after the battle; and to the same

Athenarum reficiendos curat, pecuniaeque quinquaginta talenta, quae a Pharnabazo acceperat, civibus suis donat.[1]

5. Accidit huic, quod ceteris mortalibus, ut inconsideratior in secunda quam in adversa esset fortuna. Nam classe Peloponnesiorum devicta, cum ultum se injurias patriae putaret, plura concupivit quam efficere potuit. Neque tamen ea non pia[2] et probanda fuerunt, quod potius[3] patriae opes augeri quam regis maluit. Nam cum magnam auctoritatem sibi pugna illa navali, quam apud Cnidum fecerat, constituisset,[4] non solum inter barbaros, sed etiam[5] omnes Graeciae civitates, clam dare operam coepit, ut Ioniam et Aeoliam[6] restitueret Atheniensibus. Id cum minus diligenter esset celatum, Tiribazus, qui Sardibus[7] praeerat, Cononem evocavit, simulans ad regem eum se mittere velle magna de re. Hujus nuncio parens cum venisset, in vincla conjectus est; in quibus aliquamdiu fuit. Inde nonnulli eum ad regem abductum, ibique eum perisse scriptum reliquerunt.[8] Contra ea Dinon historicus,[9] cui nos plurimum de Persicis rebus credimus, effugisse scripsit;[10] illud addubitat, utrum Tiribazo sciente an imprudente sit factum.

period belongs the statement in chapter 1, to which note 4 on page 73 refers. *Muri utrique* are 'both sets of walls.' Such a case is the only one in which the plural of *uterque* is used, at least in the best prose.

[1] This is scarcely true, if understood naturally. The money was spent on the rebuilding of the walls. From Nepos, we should infer that it was an additional sum.

[2] *Pius* is 'dutiful,' generally to the gods (pious), to parents (dutiful), or to one's native country (patriotic). Here the last is meant.

[3] *Potius* is superfluous, being implied in *maluit*. But this tautology not unfrequently occurs. We have the same in English, with 'rather' and 'prefer.'

[4] 'Had established.' *Constituisset* is stronger than *parasset*: it means *parasset et firmam reddidisset*.

[5] It would be more in accordance with common style to express the preposition here, either repeating *inter* or using *apud*.

[6] The form *Aeolis* is more common than *Aeolia*.

[7] Sardis, a noble city of Lydia, and the capital of that country when it was an independent kingdom. The plural form *Sardes* is generally used, as here. *Evocavit*, 'summoned:' this verb is often used of the authoritative summonses issued by magistrates. The date is probably 390 B.C.

[8] *Scriptum reliquerunt*, 'have left it written,' 'have left it upon record.'

[9] Very little is known of this author. He wrote a history of Persia, which is lost. As to *historicus*, see *Alcib.* 11, p. 66, n. 7.

[10] This is the more probable account. Conon appears to have escaped to Cyprus, and to have died there a few years afterwards.

X. DION.

1. Dion, Hipparini[1] filius, Syracusanus, nobili genere natus, utraque implicatus tyrannide Dionysiorum.[2] Namque ille superior[3] Aristomachen, sororem Dionis, habuit in matrimonio; ex qua duos filios, Hipparinum et Nisaeum, procreavit, totidemque filias, nomine Sophrosynen et Areten: quarum priorem Dionysio filio,[4] eidem cui regnum reliquit, nuptum dedit, alteram, Areten, Dioni.[5] Dion autem, praeter nobilem propinquitatem generosamque majorum famam,[6] multa alia ab natura habuit bona, in his ingenium docile, come,[7] aptum ad artes optimas, magnam corporis dignitatem,[8]

[1] Hipparinus was a man of wealth and distinction. As to Syracuse, see *Alcib.* 3, p. 56, n. 2.

[2] 'Was much employed in public affairs during the *tyrannis* of the two Dionysii.' *Implicatus* is often used without any bad reference, such as the English 'implicated' would have here. *Utraque tyrannide Dionysiorum* ought properly to be *tyrannide utriusque Dionysii*. As to *tyrannis*, see *Milt.* 8, p. 14, n. 5. The two Dionysii were father and son, the elder of whom governed Syracuse from 405 to 367 B.C., and the younger from that time till 356 B.C., when Dion expelled him. He partially recovered his power in 346 B.C., but three years afterwards he was finally deposed. Both the Dionysii were men of ability, especially the father.

[3] Namely, *aetate*—that is, the Elder. *Ille*, 'that well-known man,' as very often.

[4] His mother was not Aristomăche, but another wife of Dionysius the Elder, called Doris. Hence Sophrosy̆ne was his half-sister. Compare *Cimon*, 1, p. 44, n. 5. As to *nuptum dedit*, see *Gram.* § 401, n. 1.

[5] Arĕte being a daughter of Aristomăche, Dion married his niece.

[6] Literally, 'the nobly-born fame of ancestors'—that is, 'the fame, or glory, of descent from noble ancestors.'

[7] This must refer merely to his character in early life, for in his later years he was notoriously stern.

[8] Compare *Themist.* 6, p. 23, n. 6. *Quae non minimum commendat*, 'which does not least recommend a person,' 'which is not the smallest recommendation a man can have.'

quae non minimum commendat, magnas praeterea divitias a patre relictas,[1] quas ipse tyranni muneribus auxerat. Erat intimus Dionysio priori, neque minus propter mores quam affinitatem. Namque etsi Dionysii crudelitas ei displicebat, tamen salvum[2] propter necessitudinem, magis etiam suorum causa studebat. Aderat in magnis rebus, ejusque consilio multum movebatur tyrannus, nisi qua in re major ipsius cupiditas intercesserat. Legationes vero omnes, quae essent[3] illustriores, per Dionem administrabantur; quas quidem ille diligenter obeundo,[4] fideliter administrando, crudelissimum nomen tyranni sua humanitate leniebat. Hunc a Dionysio missum Carthaginienses[5] suspexerunt, ut neminem unquam Graeca lingua loquentem magis sint admirati.

2. Neque vero haec Dionysium fugiebant. Nam, quanto esset sibi ornamento,[6] sentiebat. Quo fiebat, ut uni huic maxime indulgeret, neque eum secus diligeret ac filium; qui quidem, cum Platonem[7] Tarentum venisse fama in Siciliam esset perlata, adolescenti[8] negare non potuerit, quin eum accerseret, cum Dion ejus audiendi cupiditate flagraret. Dedit

[1] This is mentioned among the advantages conferred by nature. See *Alcib.* 2, p. 55, n. 4.

[2] Supply *esse: studebat (eum) salvum esse,* 'he was anxious that he should be safe, should reign in safety.' *Propter necessitudinem, etc.* 'on account of his own relationship to him, and still more for the sake of his friends,' particularly his sister, the tyrant's wife, and her children.

[3] The subjunctive is to be accounted for on the principle stated in *Gram.* § 360, 3, n. 2. The force of the clause is this: 'all embassies, at least all which were of more than ordinary importance.'

[4] *Obire* meaning 'to undertake,' *obeundo* appears to refer to the preliminary arrangements connected with the embassies.

[5] Carthage, a colony of Tyre, situated on the north coast of Africa, was one of the most wealthy and powerful cities of antiquity. *Suspexerunt,* 'respected,' 'looked up to.' This is the common use of *suspicere,* 'suspect' being generally expressed by the deponent *suspicor.* Before *ut,* supply *ita.* As to *Graeca lingua loquentem,* compare *Alcib.* 2, p. 55, n. 3.

[6] *Ornamento* here is not merely 'honour,' 'adornment,' but 'support.' See *Cimon,* 2, p. 46, n. 11. As to the construction, see *Gram.* § 270; *Elem. Gram.* 289.

[7] See *Alcib.* 2, p. 55, n. 6. Tarentum, a large and important city, inhabited by Greeks, in the south of Italy.

[8] Dion was then scarcely twenty years of age, and consequently the statements made in the end of the preceding chapter must refer to a later period than this. *Qui quidem—potuerit:* the relative is connected with a subjunctive here, because it is equivalent to *adeo ut.* See *Gram.* § 360, 3; *Elem. Gram.* 360, 3; and compare *Hannib.* 1, end. Accersere and *arcessere* are two forms of the same word. Nepos uses both.

ergo huic[1] veniam, magnaque eum ambitione Syracusas perduxit. Quem Dion adeo admiratus est atque adamavit, ut se ei totum traderet. Neque vero minus Plato delectatus est Dione. Itaque cum a tyranno crudeliter violatus esset, quippe quem[2] venumdari jussisset, tamen eodem[3] rediit, ejusdem Dionis precibus adductus. Interim in morbum incidit Dionysius. Quo cum gravi[4] conflictaretur, quaesivit a medicis Dion, quemadmodum se haberet,[5] simulque ab his petiit, si forte majori[6] esset periculo, ut sibi faterentur: nam velle se cum eo colloqui de partiendo regno, quod sororis suae filios, ex[7] illo natos, partem regni putabat debere habere. Id medici non tacuerunt, et ad Dionysium filium sermonem retulerunt. Quo ille commotus, ne agendi esset Dioni potestas, patri soporem[8] medicos dare coëgit. Hoc aeger sumpto sopitus diem obiit supremum.[9]

3. Tale initium fuit Dionis et Dionysii simultatis,[10] eaque multis rebus aucta est. Sed tamen primis temporibus aliquamdiu simulata inter eos amicitia mansit. Cum Dion non desisteret obsecrare Dionysium, ut Platonem Athenis

[1] *Huic*—that is, *Dioni:* 'he granted him the favour.' *Ambitio* is used here in the sense of 'what pleases the people, and thus opens a way for the gratification of ambition'—namely, 'pomp.'

[2] This is a very harsh construction, the subject in the first clause being Plato, in the relative clause, Dionysius. *Quippe qui eum venumdari jussisset*, in which case the relative refers to *tyranno*, would have been much better. The story, which is not at all a probable one, is that Plato was sold as a slave, but afterwards set at liberty by his master.

[3] *Eodem*, adverb, 'to the same place,' Syracuse. This return did not take place till after the death of Dionysius the Elder.

[4] The *gravi* is in a manner in apposition to the relative: 'under which—a severe illness—when he was suffering'—that is, 'when he was suffering under this illness, which was a severe one.'

[5] 'How he had himself'—that is, 'how he was.'

[6] As to the ablative in *i*, see *Gram.* § 65, *b*, 3; *Elem. Gram.* 45, *b*, 3.

[7] In English, we speak of children being born 'to' the father, and 'of' the mother. In Latin, likewise, *ex* is usually applied to the mother; but there are a few instances in which, as here, it is used of the father. *Quod—putabat:* the indicative shews that this clause is merely thrown in by Nepos himself, to account for Dion's request. *Gram.* § 361.

[8] Properly, 'a lethargy,' 'sleep;' here, as sometimes, 'that which produces sleep,' 'a soporific,' 'opiate.'

[9] As to this phrase, see *Milt.* 7, p. 14, n. 3. Dionysius died in the year 367 B.C.

[10] *Simultatis* is governed by *initium*, and governs *Dionis et Dionysii*. *Gram.* § 276, n. 4.

arcesseret, et ejus consiliis uteretur, ille, qui in aliqua re vellet[1] patrem imitari, morem ei gessit. Eodemque[2] tempore Philistum historicum Syracusas reduxit, hominem amicum non magis tyranno quam tyrannis. Sed de hoc in eo meo libro plura sunt exposita, qui de historicis Graecis[3] conscriptus est. Plato autem tantum apud Dionysium auctoritate potuit, valuitque eloquentia,[4] ut ei persuaserit tyrannidis facere finem, libertatemque reddere Syracusanis; a qua voluntate Philisti consilio deterritus, aliquanto[5] crudelior esse coepit.

4. Qui[6] quidem cum a Dione se superari videret ingenio, auctoritate, amore populi,[7] verens ne, si eum secum haberet, aliquam occasionem sui daret opprimendi, navem ei triremem[8] dedit, qua Corinthum deveheretur, ostendens se id utriusque facere causa, ne, cum inter se[9] timerent, alteruter alterum praeoccuparet.[10] Id cum factum multi indignarentur, magnaeque esset invidiae tyranno, Dionysius omnia, quae moveri

[1] As to this subjunctive, see *Gram.* § 360, 6; *Elem. Gram.* 360, 6. *Morem ei gessit:* see *Themist.* 7, p. 25, n. 5.

[2] We not unfrequently find *-que* annexed to the first word of a sentence, particularly to *idem.* It serves to connect the sentence with the preceding, and has pretty nearly the force of *praeterea.* Philistus, author of a celebrated history of Sicily, was at first high in the favour of Dionysius the Elder; but at last, having dared to marry a niece of the tyrant without consulting him, he was banished. At the time of his recall, he was living at Adria, a town in the east of Cisalpine Gaul. Nepos says of him, that he was 'friendly not more to the tyrant (that is, to this one tyrant, Dionysius the Younger) than to tyrants in general'—that is, to the system of tyranny. We bring out the sense in English better thus: 'a man who was friendly not merely to this one tyrant, but to the *tyrannis* in general.'

[3] Nothing is known of this book but the name. See the Introduction.

[4] *Auctoritas* is the influence of his high character and great celebrity; *eloquentia,* the skill and force with which he urged his arguments. *Persuadere* with the infinitive is rare. *Gram.* § 375, n. 3.

[5] 'A good deal,' 'considerably.' This is generally the force of *aliquanto,* whereas *paulo* is 'a little.' Dionysius the Younger, though talented in some respects, was destitute of steadiness.

[6] Namely, Dionysius. The expulsion of Dion took place in 366 B.C.

[7] *Populi* is here a subjective genitive, 'in love felt by the people,' 'in the affection of the people.' *Gram.* § 273; *Elem. Gram.* 292.

[8] Other authors say that it was a small vessel. Corinth, a noble city in the north of Peloponnesus.

[9] *Inter se,* 'between themselves'—that is, 'each other'—is an expression of constant occurrence. Strictly speaking, there is an ellipsis (omission) of the object to *timerent,* the full phrase being *cum se inter se timerent.*

[10] 'Might anticipate the other'—namely, in laying snares for his life.

poterant, Dionis in naves[1] imposuit, ad eumque misit. Sic enim existimari volebat, id se non odio hominis sed suae salutis fecisse causa. Postea vero quam[2] audivit eum in Peloponneso manum comparare, sibique bellum facere conari, Areten, Dionis uxorem, alii nuptum dedit, filiumque ejus sic educari jussit, ut indulgendo turpissimis imbueretur cupiditatibus. Nam puero, priusquam pubes esset,[3] scorta adducebantur, vino epulisque obruebatur,[4] neque ullum tempus sobrio relinquebatur. Is usque eo[5] vitae statum commutatum ferre non potuit, postquam in patriam rediit pater (namque appositi erant custodes, qui eum a pristino victu deducerent),[6] ut se de superiore parte aedium dejecerit, atque ita interierit. Sed illuc[7] revertor.

5. Postquam Corinthum pervenit Dion, et eodem perfugit Heraclides, ab eodem expulsus Dionysio, qui praefectus fuerat equitum, omni ratione bellum comparare coeperunt. Sed non multum proficiebant, quod multorum annorum tyrannis magnarum opum putabatur.[8] Quam ob causam pauci ad societatem periculi perducebantur. Sed Dion, fretus non tam suis copiis quam odio tyranni, maximo animo, duabus onerariis navibus, quinquaginta annorum imperium, munitum quingentis longis navibus, decem equitum centumque peditum milibus,[9] profectus oppugnatum, quod omnibus gentibus admirabile est visum, adeo facile perculit,[10] ut post diem

[1] *Pono* is usually followed by *in* with the ablative, *impono* more frequently by *in* with the accusative. *Gram.* § 310, note.

[2] The two parts of *posteaquam* are often separated.

[3] As to this subjunctive, see *Gram.* § 357, n. 1.

[4] A very strong expression: 'he was overwhelmed with.'

[5] *Usque eo* belong to *ferre non potuit.* This sentence is awkwardly arranged. It would be more perspicuous and elegant thus: *is, postquam in patriam rediit pater, usque eo vitae statum commutatum ferre non potuit (namque appositi erant, etc.), ut se . . . .*

[6] His father, who was himself a man of austere habits, probably resorted to measures of injudicious severity, to drive the youth from his low tastes.

[7] 'To the point from which I have digressed.'

[8] 'Because a despotism of many years' standing was considered to possess great strength.' This estimate includes not merely the years during which the younger Dionysius had governed, but also the long reign of his father.

[9] *Milibus* belongs to *decem* as well as to *centum.*

[10] *Percellere* is here equivalent to *evertere*, 'to overthrow.' The object is the strong *imperium* just described. *Post diem tertium* is simply another mode of expression for *die tertio post. Gram.* § 308, n. 4.

tertium quam Siciliam attigerat Syracusas introierit. Ex quo intelligi potest nullum esse imperium tutum, nisi benevolentia munitum. Eo tempore aberat Dionysius, et in Italia classem opperiebatur,[1] adversariorum ratus neminem sine magnis copiis ad se venturum. Quae res eum fefellit. Nam Dion his ipsis,[2] qui sub adversarii fuerant potestate, regios spiritus repressit,[3] totiusque ejus partis Siciliae potitus est, quae sub Dionysii fuerat potestate, parique modo urbis Syracusarum, praeter arcem et insulam[4] adjunctam oppido, eoque rem perduxit, ut talibus pactionibus[5] pacem tyrannus facere vellet: Siciliam[6] Dion obtineret, Italiam Dionysius, Syracusas Apollocrates, cui maximam fidem uni habebat.[7]

6. Has tam prosperas tamque inopinatas res consecuta est subita commutatio, quod Fortuna sua mobilitate,[8] quem paulo ante extulerat, demergere est adorta. Primum in filio,[9] de quo commemoravi supra, suam vim exercuit. Nam cum uxorem[10] reduxisset, quae alii fuerat tradita, filiumque vellet

[1] He was waiting for a fleet which had been cruising in the Adriatic under the command of Philistus (see chapter 3, p. 81, n. 2.)

[2] For *per hos ipsos* or *horum ipsorum opera*: *Gram.* § 290, n. 2.

[3] 'Crushed the despot's pride.' *Spiritus* is often used in the sense of 'haughtiness,' 'arrogance.' *Partis potitus est: Gram.* § 300, note; *Elem. Gram.* 313.

[4] The island of Ortygia was one of the divisions of Syracuse, separated from the rest of the city by a narrow channel. Dionysius the Elder had fortified it strongly.

[5] The force is 'on such humiliating terms as the following.' *Vellet:* he wished it, but could obtain no concession.

[6] That is, as we see from what follows, *Siciliam praeter Syracusas.* If we consider, as is natural, *obtineret* to signify exactly the same thing as applied to Sicily, Italy, and Syracuse, then the tyrant's proposal must be understood as meaning, that he should be allowed to retain possession of certain fortresses which he had in the south of Italy. *Obtinere* may, however, mean merely liberty to reside in Italy. Apollocrates was the elder son of Dionysius. He was left in command of the island and the citadel of Syracuse, which he held from the time of Dion's return (357 B.C.) till 354 B.C., when he was forced to surrender.

[7] The subject to *habebat* is Dionysius. He could trust no one but his son.

[8] 'In consequence of, or according to, her fickleness.' The goddess Fortuna is always described by the ancients as very fickle.

[9] 'In the case of his son.' This is the usual signification of *in* with the ablative of a person. Fortuna is the subject of *exercuit.* As to Dion's son, see chapter 4.

[10] Namely, Arete: see chapter 4. *Uxorem reducere* is 'to take back a wife' who has been separated from her husband by divorce, or otherwise.

revocare ad virtutem a perdita luxuria,[1] accepit gravissimum parens[2] vulnus morte filii. Deinde orta dissensio est inter eum et Heraclidem,[3] qui, quod principatum non concedebat, factionem comparavit. Neque is minus valebat apud optimates, quorum consensu praeerat classi,[4] cum Dion exercitum pedestrem teneret. Non tulit hoc animo aequo Dion, et versum illum Homeri retulit[5] ex secunda rhapsodia, in quo haec sententia est: non posse bene geri rempublicam multorum imperiis. Quod dictum magna invidia consecuta est. Namque aperuisse videbatur omnia in sua potestate esse velle. Hanc ille non lenire obsequio,[6] sed acerbitate opprimere studuit, Heraclidemque, cum Syracusas venisset,[7] interficiundum curavit.

7. Quod factum omnibus maximum timorem injecit. Nemo enim, illo interfecto, se tutum putabat. Ille autem, adversario remoto, licentius eorum bona, quos sciebat adversus se sensisse,[8] militibus dispertivit. Quibus divisis, cum quotidiani maximi fierent sumptus,[9] celeriter pecunia deesse

[1] Properly speaking, the youth himself was *perditus*, 'lost,' 'abandoned,' 'profligate,' by or in his *luxuria*. However, we sometimes, as here, find *perditus* applied to that by which a man becomes profligate, and in such cases it may be translated by 'excessive.'

[2] Though *parens* is not strictly necessary here, yet it is added with great beauty and feeling. Its position, too, is well chosen. The wound was *gravissimum*, because Dion was a parent.

[3] See chapter 5, beginning. As to *principatum*, see *Cimon*, 2, p. 45, n. 7.

[4] He was a brave and skilful admiral. When Philistus came with his fleet (5, p. 83, n. 1) to support Dionysius, Heraclides sailed out against him, and totally defeated him. As to *pedestrem*, see *Alcib.* 8, p. 62, n. 12.

[5] 'Quoted.' Homer, the earliest Greek author whose works are extant, composed two epic poems—the Iliad, relating to the siege of Ilium or Troy by the Greeks; and the Odyssey, to the wanderings of Odysseus (called by the Romans Ulysses), one of the heroes engaged in the siege. These poems are divided into books, called *rhapsodiae*—that is, 'songs or ballads knit together.' When Homer is quoted, without the mention of a particular poem, the Iliad is meant, that being the more important of his works. Accordingly, the passage referred to by Nepos occurs in the second book of the Iliad.

[6] 'By indulgence:' *acerbitate* is 'by severity.'

[7] Probably from Messana (now Messina), a town in the north-east of Sicily, to which he had gone in disgust. This murder did not take place till after the departure of Apollocrates from Ortygia, 354 B.C. As to the form *interficiundum*, see *Gram.* § 144; *Elem. Gram.* 135, near the end.

[8] 'To have been opposed to him.' *Sentire cum aliquo* is 'to agree with one.'

[9] In largesses to the soldiers and people, for Dion himself was a man of frugal habits.

coepit; neque quo manus porrigeret[1] suppetebat, nisi in amicorum possessiones. Id ejusmodi erat,[2] ut, cum milites reconciliasset, amitteret optimates.[3] Quarum rerum cura frangebatur, et, insuetus male audiendi,[4] non animo aequo ferebat de se ab iis[5] male existimari, quorum paulo ante in coelum fuerat elatus laudibus.[6] Vulgus autem, offensa in eum militum voluntate,[7] liberius loquebatur, et tyrannum non ferendum dictitabat.

8. Haec ille intuens, cum quemadmodum sedaret nesciret, et quorsum evaderent[8] timeret, Callicrates[9] quidam, civis Atheniensis, qui simul cum eo ex Peloponneso in Siciliam venerat, homo et callidus et ad fraudem acutus,[10] sine ulla religione ac fide, adit ad Dionem, et ait eum magno periculo esse propter offensionem populi et odium militum, quod nullo modo evitare posset, nisi alicui[11] suorum negotium daret, qui se simularet illi inimicum. Quem si invenisset idoneum, facile omnium animos cogniturum adversariosque sublaturum,[12] quod inimici ejus[13] dissidenti suos sensus

[1] 'To which he might put forth his hands'—that is, 'on which he might lay hands,' *unde pecuniam caperet.*

[2] 'This proceeding was of such a kind that,' or 'the result of this proceeding was.'

[3] That is, as is evident from the context, *favorem optimatium.*

[4] 'Being unaccustomed to be spoken ill of.' *Bene audire*, 'to be well spoken of,' and *male audire*, the opposite, are peculiar phrases of frequent occurrence. As to the construction of *insuetus*, see *Gram.* § 277, 2; *Elem. Gram.* 295, 2.

[5] Namely, the *optimates*, or aristocracy, who had been zealous supporters of Dion.

[6] A common mode of expressing very high praise, equivalent to our 'had extolled him to the skies.'

[7] It is not easy to see why the affections of the soldiers were alienated from Dion, seeing that he plundered the nobles to enrich them.

[8] 'To what lengths they might go,' 'how they might end,' 'what might be the issue.'

[9] According to other authors, this man's name was Callippus.

[10] *Acutus* indicates natural talent, *callidus* the skill acquired by practice.

[11] *Nisi* is generally followed by the simple indefinite pronoun *quis.* See *Gram.* § 119; *Elem. Gram.* 110.

[12] 'Would put out of the way'—that is (Dion, and not his spy, being the subject of these verbs), would kill or banish the conspirators.

[13] *Inimici ejus* is superfluous, since it could easily be taken out of *adversarios. Dissidenti*, to this friend of Dion, when he 'came to be at variance,' or at least pretended to be at variance with him.

aperturi forent. Tali[1] consilio probato, excipit has partes[2] ipse Callicrates, et se armat imprudentia Dionis;[3] ad eum interficiundum socios conquirit, adversarios ejus convenit, conjurationem confirmat. Res, multis consciis quae gereretur,[4] elata[5] defertur ad Aristomachen, sororem Dionis, uxoremque Areten. Illae, timore perterritae, conveniunt[6] cujus de periculo timebant. At ille negat a Callicrate fieri sibi insidias, sed illa quae agerentur fieri praecepto suo.[7] Mulieres nihilo secius Callicratem in aedem Proserpinae deducunt, ac jurare cogunt, nihil ab illo periculi fore Dioni. Ille hac religione non modo non est deterritus, sed ad maturandum concitatus est, verens ne prius consilium aperiretur suum, quam conata[8] perfecisset.

9. Hac mente, proximo die festo,[9] cum a conventu se remotum Dion domi teneret, atque in conclavi edito recubuisset,[10] consciis facinoris loca munitiora oppidi tradit,[11] domum custodiis saepit, a foribus qui non discedant certos praeficit; navem triremem armatis[12] ornat, Philostratoque, fratri suo, tradit, eamque in portu agitari[13] jubet, ut si

[1] As to this use of *talis*, see *Themist.* 2, p. 19, n. 5.

[2] 'This part to play.' *Partes agere* is 'to play a part,' or 'act a character,' in a drama.

[3] 'He arms himself with the imprudence of Dion,' a very strong expression, signifying, 'he finds in Dion's imprudence all the help necessary to the carrying out of his treacherous designs.'

[4] *Quae* has the subjunctive here, because it implies *cum*, the clause being equivalent to *cum multis consciis gereretur*, 'since it was carried on with the privity of many.' *Gram.* § 360, 6; *Elem. Gram.* 360, 6.

[5] 'Being divulged.' The expression *res elata defertur* is odd, but seems intended to indicate, that the person who told Aristomache and Arete was not one of the original conspirators, but one to whom the matter had been communicated (*elatum*) by them. As to the women mentioned, see chapter 1.

[6] Supply *eum*. The demonstrative is not often omitted, when it is in a different case from the relative; still this ellipsis occurs sometimes.

[7] For the second clause, *dicit* must be taken out of *negat*. Compare *Cimon*, 1, p. 45, n. 5.

[8] The common form is *conatus*, of the fourth declension, but the plural of a neuter *conatum*, *i*, occurs occasionally.

[9] It was the festival of Persephone (Proserpine), a divinity much reverenced in Sicily.

[10] He had retired to an upper chamber, that he might not be disturbed by the noise of the people.

[11] The subject of *tradit* and the following verbs is Callicrates.

[12] That is, *militibus*. *Ornat*, equivalent to *instruit*, 'supplies,' 'fits out.'

[13] 'To be rowed up and down.'

exercere remiges vellet, cogitans, si forte consiliis obstitisset Fortuna, ut haberet quo fugeret ad salutem.[1] Suorum autem e numero Zacynthios[2] adolescentes quosdam eligit, cum audacissimos, tum viribus maximis, hisque dat negotium, ad Dionem eant[3] inermes, sic ut conveniendi ejus gratia viderentur venire. Hi propter notitiam[4] sunt intromissi. At illi, ut limen ejus intrarunt, foribus obseratis, in lecto cubantem invadunt, colligant: fit strepitus, adeo ut exaudiri possit foris. Hic,[5] sicut ante saepe dictum est, quam invisa sit singularis potentia,[6] et miseranda vita[7] qui se metui quam amari malunt, cuivis facile intellectu[8] fuit. Namque illi ipsi custodes,[9] si propria fuissent voluntate, foribus effractis, servare eum potuissent, quod illi[10] inermes telum foris flagitantes vivum tenebant. Cui cum succurreret nemo, Lyco quidam Syracusanus per fenestras gladium dedit, quo Dion interfectus est.

10. Confecta caede, cum multitudo visendi gratia introisset, nonnulli ab insciis pro noxiis conciduntur. Nam celeri rumore dilato Dioni vim allatam, multi concurrerant, quibus tale facinus displicebat. Hi, falsa suspicione ducti, immerentes ut sceleratos[11] occidunt. Hujus de morte ut palam factum est, mirabiliter vulgi mutata est voluntas. Nam qui

1 'That he might have a place to which he could flee for safety.'

2 Zacynthus, now Zante, one of the Ionian islands, to the west of Elis, in Peloponnesus. From this island Dion had made his descent upon Sicily.

3 As to the omission of *ut*, see *Gram.* § 352, n. 1.

4 'On account of their acquaintance' with Dion. We must understand that, though Callicrates placed guards round the house, yet Dion's servants were ignorant of this, and still went about their usual duties. By them, then, the Zacynthians were admitted.

5 'Here, in this case.' *Saepe:* only once distinctly, chapter 5, middle.

6 That is, *unius potentia*, 'the domination of a single man,' a rare mode of expression. Compare *De Regibus*, 2, *singularis imperii.*

7 Supply *eorum*, and see chapter 8, p. 86, n. 6. The ellipsis is very harsh here.

8 As to the use of the supine in *u*, see *Gram.* § 402; *Elem. Gram.* 376.

9 That is, the door-keepers who had admitted the Zacynthians. See n. 4. *Propria*, 'proper,' 'becoming'—that is, if they had had the feelings towards their master which became servants.

10 That is, the Zacynthians. They were *inermes*, because they would not otherwise have been allowed to enter the house.

11 This may be equivalent to *pro sceleratis*, 'in place of the guilty,' but it seems more natural to take it in the sense of 'in the same way as they do the guilty'—that is, 'as well as the guilty.'

vivum eum tyrannum vocitarant, iidem liberatorem patriae tyrannique expulsorem praedicabant. Sic subito misericordia odio successerat, ut eum suo sanguine ab Acheronte,[1] si possent,[2] cuperent redimere. Itaque in urbe, celeberrimo loco,[3] elatus publice sepulcri monumento donatus est. Diem obiit circiter annos quinquaginta quinque natus, quartum post annum quam ex Peloponneso in Siciliam redierat.[4]

1 The Acheron, a river in Thesprotia, a district of Epirus, was believed to have a connection with the lower world, and hence the name is often used to designate the lower world itself.

2 For *si potuissent*, see *Gram.* § 345, note.

3 'In a much frequented place.' As to this sense of *celeber*, see *Praefatio*, p. 2, n. 11; and as to *locus* in the ablative without a preposition, *Gram.* § 307, 1; *Elem. Gram.* 320. *Elatus publice* go together, 'having had a public funeral,' which includes here the attendance of the magistrates and of many of the citizens, and the defrayment of the expenses from the state treasury. *Monumento sepulcri*, 'with the memorial of a tomb'—that is, 'with a tomb as a memorial.' *Gram.* § 274; *Elem. Gram.* 292, end. *Sepulcri* might have been omitted, in which case *monumentum* would have taken the sense of 'a sepulchral monument.'

4 Dion was murdered in 353 B.C. As to *postquam* with the pluperfect, see *Gram.* § 334, n. 2. After Dion's assassination, Callicrates—or Callippus—usurped the government of Syracuse, which, however, he retained only thirteen months.

XI. IPHICRATES.

1. Iphicrates Atheniensis non tam magnitudine rerum gestarum quam disciplina militari nobilitatus est.[1] Fuit enim talis dux, ut non solum aetatis suae cum primis compararetur, sed ne de majoribus natu[2] quidem quisquam anteponeretur. Multum vero in bello est versatus, saepe exercitibus praefuit; nusquam culpa male rem gessit, semper consilio vicit, tantumque eo valuit, ut multa in re militari partim nova attulerit, partim meliora fecerit. Namque ille pedestria arma mutavit. Cum ante illum imperatorem maximis clipeis, brevibus hastis, minutis gladiis uterentur, ille e contrario peltam[3] pro parma fecit (a quo postea peltastae pedites appellantur), ut ad motus[4] concursusque essent leviores, hastae modum duplicavit, gladios longiores fecit. Idem genus loricarum mutavit, et pro sertis[5] atque aeneis linteas dedit. Quo facto expeditiores milites reddidit: nam, pondere detracto, quod aeque corpus tegeret et leve esset curavit.

2. Bellum cum Thracibus gessit; Seuthem, socium Athe-

[1] Iphicrates was not *genere nobilis*, being the son of a shoemaker. He made himself noble by his skill in the art of war. *Non tam—quam*, 'not so much—as,' is not intended to indicate that he performed no great exploits, but merely that his theoretical acquaintance with the military art, his thorough training as a soldier, was more celebrated than his deeds, famous even as they were.

[2] Not, as usually, 'those older than himself,' but 'those before his time,' such as Miltiades and Themistocles.

[3] *Pelta* was a light crescent-shaped shield. The *parma* was larger, and circular.

[4] *Motus* are here 'evolutions'—that is, quick turnings; whilst *concursus* are 'attacks,' the rush against the foe.

[5] *Sertae loricae* are 'chain-mail.' Instead of this, he gave the soldiers linen armour, the linen being made by certain processes nearly, if not quite, sword-proof.

niensium, in regnum restituit.[1] Apud Corinthum tanta severitate exercitui praefuit,[2] ut nullae unquam in Graecia neque exercitatiores copiae, neque magis dicto audientes[3] fuerint duci, in eamque consuetudinem adduxit, ut, cum proelii signum ab imperatore esset datum, sine ducis opera sic ordinatae consisterent, ut singuli ab peritissimo imperatore dispositi viderentur. Hoc exercitu moram[4] Lacedaemoniorum interfecit; quod maxime tota celebratum est Graecia.[5] Iterum[6] eodem bello omnes copias eorum fugavit; quo facto magnam adeptus est gloriam. Cum Artaxerxes[7] Aegyptio regi bellum inferre voluit, Iphicratem ab Atheniensibus ducem petivit, quem praeficeret exercitui conducticio, cujus numerus duodecim milium[8] fuit. Quem[9] quidem sic omni disciplina militari erudivit, ut, quemadmodum quondam Fabiani milites[10] Romani appellati sunt, sic Iphicratenses apud Graecos in summa laude fuerint. Idem, subsidio Lacedaemoniis profectus, Epaminondae retardavit impetus.[11] Nam nisi ejus adventus appropinquasset, non prius Thebani Sparta abscessissent, quam captam incendio delessent.[12]

3. Fuit autem et animo magno et corpore, imperatoriaque

1 About 387 B.C. As to Seuthes, compare *Alcib.* 8.

2 From 393 to 391 B.C.

3 As to this phrase, see *Lysand.* 1, p. 49, n. 5.

4 *Mora* in this sense is properly a Greek word, signifying a certain division of the infantry in the Lacedaemonian army. It contained from 500 to 900 men, thus corresponding to one of our regiments. The date of this exploit is 392 B.C.

5 As to *tota Graecia* without a preposition, see *Gram.* § 307, 2; *Elem. Gram.* 320, middle.

6 Of this nothing is known.

7 Artaxerxes Mnemon, king of Persia. Iphicrates was sent on this expedition in 377 B.C.

8 As to this genitive, see *Gram.* § 279, note. Another account makes this mercenary army twenty thousand strong.

9 Namely, *exercitum conducticium.*

10 These 'Fabian soldiers' are not mentioned by other authors, but no doubt the reference is to those trained under Q. Fabius Maximus, the first Roman commander who successfully opposed the great Hannibal.

11 In 369 B.C. See the life of Epaminondas by Nepos. Iphicrates in reality did nothing against Epaminondas: probably he did not wish to do anything. The conduct of the Spartans towards the Athenians had assuredly not been such as to merit deep gratitude and very energetic assistance.

12 As to *priusquam* with the subjunctive, see *Gram.* § 357; *Elem. Gram.* 356; and as to *delessent* for *delevissent*, *Gram.* § 141, 1; *Elem. Gram.* 135, 1. *Priusquam captam incendio delessent* is a terse mode of expression for *priusquam cepissent et incendio delessent.* *Gram.* § 404.

forma,[1] ut ipso aspectu cuivis injiceret admirationem sui, sed in labore nimis remissus parumque patiens,[2] ut Theopompus memoriae prodidit; bonus vero civis fideque magna. Quod cum in aliis rebus declaravit, tum maxime in Amyntae Macedonis[3] liberis tuendis. Namque Eurydice, mater Perdiccae et Philippi,[4] cum his duobus pueris, Amynta mortuo, ad Iphicratem confugit, ejusque opibus defensa est. Vixit ad senectutem, placatis in se suorum civium animis. Causam capitis semel dixit,[5] bello sociali, simul cum Timotheo, eoque judicio est absolutus. Menesthea[6] filium reliquit, ex Thressa natum, Coti regis filia. Is cum interrogaretur, utrum pluris, patrem matremne, faceret,[7] 'Matrem' inquit. Id cum omnibus mirum videretur, 'At,' ille, 'merito,' inquit, 'facio.[8] Nam pater, quantum in se fuit, Thracem me genuit, contra ea mater Atheniensem.'

[1] 'Of a form becoming a general'—that is, of an appearance and bearing calculated to inspire respect.

[2] Nepos seems to have blundered in this quotation, probably applying to Iphicrates what was said of Chabrias or some other commander. At least the statement here appears quite inconsistent with all that we know of Iphicrates. As to Theopompus, see *Alcib.* 11, p. 66, n. 8.

[3] Amyntas II., king of Macedonia, left three sons, the eldest of whom was murdered shortly after his accession. Soon after the death of the latter, his mother Eurydice was brought to great straits by Pausanias, a pretender to the crown, and in these circumstances entreated Iphicrates to help her and her remaining sons. The date is 368 or 367 B.C.

[4] This was the famous Philip, father of Alexander the Great.

[5] *Causam dicere*, 'to plead a cause,' is a common phrase, and *causa capitis* is 'a cause involving capital punishment, if the accused be found guilty.' Translate thus: 'he was once brought to trial on the charge of a capital offence.' The Social War was a war in which the Athenians were engaged from 357 to 355 B.C. with their allies (*socii*) the Byzantines, Chians, Rhodians, and Coans, who had been faithless to the league. For particulars regarding the circumstances that occasioned the trial (which took place in 355 B.C.), see *Timoth.* 3.

[6] As to this Greek accusative, see *Gram.* § 58, n. 9. *Thressa* or *Threissa*, 'a Thracian woman,' is the feminine of *Thrax* or *Threx*. Cotys was a king of Thrace, to whom, in 364 B.C., Iphicrates gave some assistance in a war, in return for which he obtained the king's daughter in marriage. The word is properly *Cotys*, genitive *Cotyis*, but Nepos declines from a nominative *Cotus*.

[7] 'Which of the two (accusative *uter*), his father or mother, he valued more highly.' As to *pluris facere*, see *Gram.* § 283; *Elem. Gram.* 300.

[8] The order for translation is, *ille inquit* '*at merito facio.*' *At* often introduces the answer to an objection, and refers to a clause understood; thus, here, the full sentence is, 'you think my preference strange, but I make it justly.' The separation of the *ille* from *inquit* is not usual; similar instances, however, occur in the best writers.

XII. CHABRIAS.

1. CHABRIAS Atheniensis.[1] Hic quoque in summis habitus est ducibus, resque multas memoria dignas gessit. Sed ex his elucet maxime[2] inventum ejus in proelio, quod apud Thebas fecit, cum Boeotiis subsidio venisset. Namque in eo victoria fidentem summum ducem Agesilaum,[3] fugatis jam ab eo conducticiis catervis, reliquam phalangem[4] loco vetuit cedere, obnixoque genu scuto,[5] projecta hasta impetum excipere hostium docuit. Id novum Agesilaus contuens progredi non est ausus, suosque jam incurrentes tuba revocavit. Hoc usque eo tota Graecia fama celebratum est, ut illo statu[6] Chabrias sibi statuam fieri voluerit, quae publice ei ab Atheniensibus in foro constituta est. Ex quo factum est, ut

[1] As to this mode of commencement, see *Themist.* 1, p. 16, n. 2.

[2] Nepos is in error here. The greatest achievement of Chabrias was certainly the victory over the Lacedaemonians, which he gained in a sea-fight off the island of Naxos, in 376 B.C. The expedition in support of the Thebans was in the year 378 B.C. Nepos goes on to describe the *inventum*, 'invention,' of Chabrias.

[3] Here we have an accusative without anything to govern it. The author probably intended to close the sentence somewhat in this manner, *cum—vetuisset—docuisset, nova re perterritum suos revocare coëgit*, 'by forbidding—and teaching—Chabrias obliged Agesilaus, alarmed at the new tactics, to recall his men.'

[4] The *phalanx* was properly a body of infantry drawn up in a particular manner. Here, however, as we see from *reliquam*, it means 'the army' generally.

[5] This was the *inventum* above mentioned. Chabrias made his soldiers await the attack of the enemy, with their spears levelled, and their shields resting on the left knee, this being advanced a little. *Projecta* is equivalent to *porrecta*, as occasionally.

[6] 'In that posture.' The ablative is an ablative of manner. *Gram.* § 293; *Elem. Gram.* 306.

postea athletae ceterique artifices[1] his statibus in statuis ponendis[2] uterentur, in quibus victoriam essent adepti.[3]

2. Chabrias autem[4] multa in Europa bella administravit, cum dux Atheniensium esset; in Aegypto sua sponte[5] gessit. Nam Nectanabin adjutum profectus, regnum ei constituit.[6] Fecit idem Cypri, sed publice[7] ab Atheniensibus Evagorae adjutor datus; neque prius inde discessit, quam totam insulam bello devinceret;[8] qua ex re Athenienses magnam gloriam sunt adepti. Interim bellum inter Aegyptios et Persas conflatum est. Athenienses cum Artaxerxe societatem habebant, Lacedaemonii cum Aegyptiis, a quibus magnas praedas[9] Agesilaus, rex eorum, faciebat. Id intuens Chabrias, cum in re nulla Agesilao cederet, sua sponte eos adjutum profectus, Aegyptiae classi praefuit, pedestribus copiis Agesilaus.

3. Tum praefecti regis Persiae legatos miserunt Athenas, questum quod Chabrias adversum regem bellum gereret cum Aegyptiis.[10] Athenienses diem certam Chabriae praesti-

[1] 'Artists'—that is, players, musicians, and the like.

[2] *Statuam ponere* is the technical expression for 'to erect or set up a statue.'

[3] As to the subjunctive, see *Gram.* § 361; *Elem. Gram.* 361.

[4] *Autem* takes up the direct thread of the narrative again, like our 'now' or 'then.'

[5] That is, 'without a commission from the state.' To *gessit* supply, from the preceding clause, *bella* as object.

[6] There is a confusion in this passage. Chabrias was connected with the Egyptians twice—first in the reign of Acoris, about the year 377 B.C., and afterwards in 361 B.C., in the reign of Tachos, whom Nepos here confounds with his successor Nectanabis. Again, however, *regnum ei constituit* is intended to refer to Nectanabis, who revolted against Tachos, and was established in his authority not by Chabrias, but by Agesilaus. It was when Chabrias was in Egypt the first time that he was recalled by the Athenians at the demand of the Persians, whereas our author (in chapter 3) connects this recall with his second visit. Altogether, Nepos must be blamed here both for ignorance and carelessness.

[7] *Publice* is opposed to *sua sponte* above. Evagoras was king of Salamis in Cyprus. This expedition of Chabrias falls in 388 B.C., considerably earlier than those to Egypt.

[8] Strictly *devicisset*: *Gram.* § 363, 2; but such irregularities sometimes occur. As to the subjunctive, see *Gram.* § 357, n. 1.

[9] *Praeda* here is to be taken in the general sense of 'gain,' and the force of the clause is, that Agesilaus was well remunerated by the Egyptians for the services he rendered them.

[10] *Bellum gerere cum aliquo* means generally 'to wage war with (that is, against) a person.' Here, however, it means 'to wage war along with (on the side of) a person.'

tuerunt, quam ante[1] domum nisi redisset, capitis se illum damnaturos denunciarunt. Hoc ille nuncio Athenas rediit, neque[2] ibi diutius est moratus quam fuit necesse. Non enim libenter erat ante oculos suorum civium, quod et vivebat laute et indulgebat sibi liberalius, quam ut invidiam vulgi posset effugere. Est enim hoc commune vitium in magnis liberisque civitatibus, ut invidia gloriae comes sit, et libenter de iis detrahant, quos eminere videant altius; neque animo aequo pauperes alienam opulentium intuuntur fortunam.[3] Itaque Chabrias, quoad ei licebat, plurimum aberat. Neque vero solus ille aberat Athenis libenter, sed omnes fere principes fecerunt idem,[4] quod tantum[5] se ab invidia putabant futuros, quantum a conspectu suorum recesserant.[6] Itaque Conon plurimum Cypri vixit, Iphicrates in Thracia, Timotheus Lesbo, Chares Sigeo;[7] dissimilis quidem Chares[8] horum et factis et moribus, sed tamen Athenis et honoratus et potens.

[1] *Ante* and some other prepositions may stand either before or after the relative pronoun.

[2] 'But—not,' as pretty frequently.

[3] *Aliena fortuna* is equivalent to *fortuna aliorum*, 'the good fortune of others:' then, because the adjective is equivalent to a genitive, a genitive, *opulentium*, is added in apposition, just as we say *tuum hominis simplicis pectus*, 'the heart of thee, an upright man.' Compare *Gram.* § 273, n. 4. *Intuuntur*, from *intuor*, of the third conjugation, an old form for *intueor*. Instead of making this clause a distinct assertion, the author might have connected it more closely with the preceding, by writing *intuantur* or *intueantur*, dependent on *ut*.

[4] 'Did the same'—that is, lived at a distance from Athens. We sometimes find *facere* thus used to take up the notion of a preceding verb, even when that verb is not one of 'doing,' but, as here, merely of 'being.'

[5] 'Only in so far.' *Ab*, 'away from,' 'free from.'

[6] This should unquestionably have been *recessissent*, the clause being an integral part of the men's thoughts. *Gram.* § 361; *Elem. Gram.* 361. But Nepos is occasionally careless in regard to the use of the subjunctive in dependent clauses.

[7] Of Conon, Iphicrates, and Timotheus, Nepos has written lives. Chares was an Athenian general of disreputable character, who flourished at the same time. The *in* before *Thracia* belongs also to *Lesbo* and *Sigeo*. This construction is awkward. Sigeum was a town on a cape of the same name, near Troy.

[8] This second member of the sentence gives the reason for classing Chares among those whom Nepos has just called *principes*, 'leading men.' As *dissimilis* may govern either the genitive or the dative (*Gram.* § 267, n. 2; *Elem. Gram.* 295, 6), we have a choice of constructions. We may either join *dissimilis horum et factis et moribus*, 'unlike these

4. Chabrias autem periit bello sociali[1] tali modo. Oppugnabant Athenienses Chium.[2] Erat in classe Chabrias privatus, sed omnes qui in magistratu erant auctoritate[3] anteibat, eumque magis milites quam[4] qui praeerant aspiciebant. Quae res ei maturavit mortem. Nam dum primus studet[5] portum intrare, gubernatorem[6] jubet eo dirigere navem, ipse sibi perniciei fuit. Cum enim eo penetrasset, ceterae[7] non sunt secutae. Quo facto, circumfusus hostium concursu, cum fortissime pugnaret, navis rostro[8] percussa coepit sidere. Hinc refugere cum[9] posset, si se in mare dejecisset, quod suberat[10] classis Atheniensium, quae exciperet natantes, perire maluit quam, armis abjectis, navem relinquere in qua fuerat vectus. Id ceteri facere[11] noluerunt; qui nando in tutum pervenerunt. At ille, praestare honestam mortem existimans turpi vitae,[12] comminus pugnans telis hostium interfectus est.

both in regard to actions (exploits) and moral conduct,' or *dissimilis et factis et moribus horum*, in which latter case Chares is compared with the actions and morals of the others, a mode of speaking very illogical indeed, but common in Latin.

1 See *Iphicrates*, 3, p. 91, n. 5. The date is 357 B.C. *Tali modo*, 'in the following manner:' see *Themist.* 2, p. 19, n. 5.

2 An island, with a town of the same name, in the Aegean Sea, off the coast of Ionia.

3 'In influence with the soldiers.'

4 Supply *eos*, not *ii*.

5 As to *dum* with the present, see *Gram.* § 332, note.

6 Before *gubernatorem* there is an ellipsis of *et.* The apodosis begins with *ipse.*

7 Namely, *naves*, the writer looking back to *dirigere navem.*

8 'By a beak'—that is, by the beak of an enemy's vessel. The ancient ships of war had a sharp projection at the prow, made in the form of a bird's beak, and generally tipped with brass. The purpose of this was to damage a hostile vessel in a concussion.

9 'Although,' for *tamen* is understood before *perire maluit.* Instead of *posset*, the pluperfect subjunctive is, strictly speaking, required, but the force of the imperfect is, 'though he had the power of escaping, and really would have effected it, if . . . .' Compare *Gram.* § 346, 1.

10 'Was near.' The fleet, when the position of Chabrias's ship was seen, had probably come very near the mouth of the harbour, for the express purpose of affording assistance. *Armis abjectis:* the loss of his arms was the greatest disgrace that could befall a soldier.

11 That is, to remain in the ship.

12 For the construction of the verbs signifying 'to excel,' 'to be better than,' see *Gram.* § 250, n. 5.

XIII. TIMOTHEUS.

1. TIMOTHEUS, Cononis filius, Atheniensis. Hic a patre acceptam gloriam multis auxit virtutibus. Fuit enim disertus, impiger,[1] laboriosus, rei militaris peritus neque minus civitatis regendae. Multa hujus sunt praeclare facta, sed haec maxime illustria. Olynthios[2] et Byzantios bello subegit. Samum cepit: in quo oppugnando superiori bello[3] Athenienses mille et ducenta talenta consumpserant, id[4] ille sine ulla publica impensa populo restituit. Adversus Cotum[5] bella gessit, ab eoque mille et ducenta talenta[6] praedae in publicum retulit. Cyzicum[7] obsidione liberavit. Ariobarzani[8] simul cum Agesilao auxilio profectus est; a quo cum

[1] *Impiger* indicates energy, *laboriosus*, patience and perseverance.

[2] Olynthus was an important town at the head of the Toronaic Gulf. The date of these exploits of Timotheus is 364 B.C.

[3] In 440 B.C., when Pericles took it. As to the ablative *superiori*, see *Gram.* § 65, *b*, 3; *Elem. Gram.* 45, *b*, 3.

[4] *Id* is a general and loose mode of expression, indicating Samos. Properly we should have *eam*, and *in qua oppugnanda*, *Samos* being feminine. This capture of the island took place about 366 B.C. The exploits of Timotheus seem to be stated by Nepos without any regard to chronological order. By *sine ulla publica impensa* Nepos intimates that the booty which Timotheus obtained at Samos enabled him to repay to the public treasury all that the war had cost.

[5] As to Cotys, and the mode of declining his name, see *Iphic.* 3, p. 91, n. 6. The war with Cotys falls about the year 363 B.C.

[6] The sum is enormous, nearly L.300,000—a talent being about L.243, 15s.

[7] A beautiful city of Mysia, in Asia Minor, on a peninsula in the Propontis. The date is 364 B.C. It is uncertain who were the besiegers; probably the Persians.

[8] Satrap of Phrygia. The date of the expedition is probably 366 B.C. Finding Ariobarzanes in open revolt against Artaxerxes, Timotheus refused to aid him, and turned his attention to besieging Samos.

Laco pecuniam numeratam[1] accepisset, ille cives suos agro atque urbibus augeri maluit, quam id sumere, cujus partem domum suam ferre posset. Itaque accepit Crithoten et Sestum.[2]

2. Idem classi[3] praefectus, circumvehens Peloponnesum, Laconicen[4] populatus, classem eorum[5] fugavit, Corcyram sub imperium Atheniensium redegit, sociosque idem adjunxit Epirotas, Athamanas,[6] Chaonas, omnesque eas gentes quae mare illud adjacent.[7] Quo facto, Lacedaemonii de diutina contentione destiterunt, et sua sponte Atheniensibus imperii maritimi principatum concesserunt, pacemque his legibus[8] constituerunt, ut Athenienses mari duces essent. Quae victoria tantae fuit Atticis laetitiae, ut tum primum arae Paci publice sint factae, eique deae pulvinar[9] sit institutum. Cujus laudis ut memoria maneret, Timotheo publice statuam in foro posuerunt. Qui honos huic uni ante id tempus contigit,[10] ut, cum patri populus statuam posuisset, filio quoque

[1] 'Money paid down,' 'ready money.' As to the practice of the Lacedaemonian king, compare *Chab.* 2, p. 93, n. 9.

[2] Towns in the Thracian Chersoncsus. It seems difficult to reconcile the statement that Ariobarzanes gave these towns to Timotheus with the fact, stated in note 8 on page 96, that he did not obtain assistance from him. Hence it is more probable that Timotheus himself took them.

[3] As *praefectus* is a participle used substantively, it may have either its verbal construction with the dative, or its substantive construction with the genitive, thus *praefectus urbis* or *urbi*, *classis* or *classi*. As to *circumvehens* in the sense of 'sailing round,' compare *Gram.* § 139, n. 1.

[4] Laconia. *Laconice* is properly the feminine of the Greek adjective Λακωνικός, 'Laconian,' the noun γῆ, 'territory,' being understood.

[5] That is, *Lacedaemoniorum*, taken out of *Laconicen*. See *Praefatio*, p. 2, n. 9. This cruise of Timotheus took place in 375 B.C.

[6] Athamania and Chaonia were subdivisions of Epirus; and therefore *Athamanas*, *Chaonas*, *etc.* must be understood as simply a more particular explanation of *Epirotas*, which is indicated in English by 'namely.'

[7] *Mare adjacent* is said for *ad mare jacent*, or *mari adjacent*, 'lie near the sea.' The preposition is joined to the verb, in the same way as in English 'to overleap a wall' is sometimes said for 'to leap over a wall.'

[8] 'Conditions,' as frequently.

[9] The temples of many gods were provided with couches (*pulvinaria*), upon which, on certain solemn occasions, the images of the divinities were laid, and a rich banquet placed before them. This proceeding was called a *lectisternium*.

[10] 'The honour happened to him alone before that time' is, strictly speaking, nonsense. The author means to say, 'the honour happened to *no one* before that time,' but his mind was filled with the thought

daret. Sic juxta posita recens[1] filii veterem patris renovavit memoriam.

3. Hic cum esset magno natu, et magistratus gerere desisset, bello Athenienses undique premi sunt coepti.[2] Defecerat Samus,[3] descierat Hellespontus, Philippus jam tunc valens, Macedo, multa moliebatur; cui oppositus Chares[4] cum esset, non satis in eo praesidii putabatur. Fit Menestheus[5] praetor, filius Iphicratis, gener Timothei, et ut ad bellum proficiscatur decernitur. Huic in consilium dantur duo usu sapientiaque praestantes, quorum consilio uteretur,[6] pater et socer, quod in his tanta erat auctoritas, ut magna spes esset per eos amissa posse recuperari. Hi cum Samum[7] profecti essent, et eodem Chares, illorum adventu cognito, cum suis copiis proficisceretur, ne quid absente se gestum videretur, accidit, cum ad insulam appropinquarent, ut magna tempestas oreretur,[8] quam evitare duo veteres imperatores utile arbitrati suam classem suppresserunt.[9] At ille, temeraria usus ratione, non cessit majorum natu auctoritati, et, ut si in sua navi esset Fortuna,[10] quo contenderat pervenit, eodemque ut sequerentur ad Timotheum et Iphicratem nuncium misit. Hinc, male re gesta, compluribus amissis navibus, eo unde erat profectus se recepit, litterasque Athenas publice[11] misit, sibi proclive fuisse Samum capere, nisi a Timotheo et

that 'he was the *only one* at that date who had obtained the honour,' and hence he mixes the ideas. Similar cases occur in the best writers of all languages: thus Milton calls Eve the 'fairest of all her daughters.' Wherein the peculiar honour consisted is explained by *ut—daret*: *Gram.* § 352, n. 1, end.

[1] *Memoria* as understood to *recens* is 'memorial,' 'monument,' whilst *memoriam patris* is 'the memory, remembrance of the father.'

[2] As to this war, called the Social War, see *Iphicrates*, 3, p. 91, n. 5.

[3] An error. Samos had not revolted.

[4] As to him, see *Chabrias*, 3, p. 94, n. 7.

[5] See an anecdote of him in *Iphic.* 3.

[6] After *in consilium dantur* this is grossly tautological. Compare *Milt.* 1, p. 4, n. 6.

[7] Rather to Byzantium: see n. 3.

[8] As to the inflection of *orior*, see *Gram.* § 169, note; *Elem. Gram.* 181.

[9] 'Stopped, anchored, their fleet.' *Reprimere* is more commonly used in this sense.

[10] A beautiful idea. Notwithstanding the violence of the winds and waves, Chares went safely on, as if Fortune herself were at the helm.

[11] This implies that it was an official dispatch, not a private letter, and was to be read before the people.

Iphicrate desertus esset.[1] Populus acer, suspicax, ob eamque rem mobilis, adversarius,[2] invidus (etiam potentiae in crimen vocabantur), domum revocat: accusantur proditionis.[3] Hoc judicio damnatur Timotheus, lisque ejus aestimatur centum talentis.[4] Ille, odio ingratae civitatis coactus, Chalcidem[5] se contulit.

4. Hujus post mortem[6] cum populum judicii sui poeniteret, multae novem partes[7] detraxit, et decem talenta Cononem, filium ejus, ad muri quandam partem reficiendam jussit dare. In quo[8] fortunae varietas est animadversa. Nam quos avus Conon muros ex hostium praeda[9] patriae restituerat, eosdem nepos cum summa ignominia familiae ex sua re familiari reficere coactus est.

Timothei autem moderatae sapientisque vitae cum pleraque[10] possimus proferre testimonia, uno erimus contenti, quod ex eo facile conjici poterit, quam carus suis fuerit. Cum Athenis adolescentulus causam diceret,[11] non solum amici privatique hospites ad eum defendendum convenerunt,

[1] According to another historian, the case was somewhat different. Chares wished the other commanders to engage during a storm, and, upon their refusal, wrote to Athens, accusing them of treachery. Nepos's account, that Chares fought, and was defeated, and then blamed the other leaders for his want of success, seems quite as likely as the other.

[2] 'Inclined to look with a hostile eye on everything.' This is hyperbolical, of course.

[3] Iphicrates and Menestheus were tried first, in 355 B.C., and acquitted. Timotheus was tried the following year.

[4] A very heavy fine. See chap. 1, p. 96, n. 6.

[5] An important town on the west coast of Euboea.

[6] His death occurred in the same year in which he was tried.

[7] 'Nine parts (that is, nine-tenths) of the fine.' See *Gram.* § 110; *Elem. Gram.* 95. The subject to *detraxit* is *populus.*

[8] For *in qua re.* See *Alcib.* 2, p. 55, n. 6.

[9] An error. See *Conon*, 4, end.

[10] That is, *plura* or *permulta.* See *Praefatio*, p. 1, n. 2.

[11] This trial took place in 373 B.C., and the accusation was on the ground, that Timotheus had been dilatory in the conduct of an expedition with which he had been intrusted, to aid the Corcyraeans against Lacedaemon. As he must have been about forty years of age at that time, Nepos either is mistaken in calling him an *adolescentulus*, or the diminutive means the same as *adolescens*. Properly speaking, a man could not be designated an *adolescens* after thirty, but we not unfrequently find older men so styled. Cicero calls himself *adolescentulus* when twenty-seven years of age; and the historian Sallust thus designates Caesar, though he was at the time thirty-six years old.

sed etiam in eis Jason, tyrannus Thessaliae,[1] qui illo tempore fuit omnium potentissimus. Hic cum[2] in patria sine satellitibus se tutum non arbitraretur, Athenas sine ullo praesidio venit, tantique hospitem fecit,[3] ut mallet se capitis periculum adire, quam Timotheo de fama dimicanti deesse. Hunc adversus tamen Timotheus postea populi jussu bellum gessit;[4] patriae sanctiora jura quam hospitii esse duxit.

Haec extrema fuit aetas imperatorum Atheniensium, Iphicratis, Chabriae, Timothei; neque post illorum obitum quisquam dux[5] in illa urbe fuit dignus memoria.

1 Jason was tyrant of Pherae, an important town in Thessaly, and had made himself master of the whole province.

2 'Although,' as is seen from what follows.

3 As to *tanti facere*, see *Gram.* § 283; *Elem. Gram.* 300.

4 Nothing is known of this war, and the statement seems improbable.

5 He forgets Phocion, whose life he has written.

XIV. DATAMES.

1. VENIO nunc ad fortissimum virum maximique consilii omnium barbarorum, exceptis duobus Carthaginiensibus, Hamilcare et Hannibale.[1] De quo hoc plura feremus,[2] quod et obscuriora sunt ejus gesta pleraque, et ea, quae prospere ei cesserunt, non magnitudine copiarum sed consilii, quo tum omnes superabat, acciderunt; quorum nisi ratio[3] explicata fuerit, res apparere non poterunt.

Datames, patre Camisare, natione Care,[4] matre Scythissa natus, primum[5] in militum numero fuit apud Artaxerxen eorum, qui regiam tuebantur.[6] Pater ejus Camisares, quod et manu fortis et bello strenuus[7] et regi multis locis fidelis erat repertus, habuit provinciam partem Ciliciae juxta Cappadociam, quam incolunt Leucosyri. Datames, militare munus[8] fungens, primum qualis esset aperuit in bello quod rex adversus Cadusios[9] gessit. Namque hic, multis milibus regiorum interfectis, magni fuit ejus opera. Quo factum est, cum in

[1] Of both of whom Nepos has written lives.

[2] 'We shall tell, declare, bring forward.' *Hoc*, ablative, 'on this account.'

[3] *Ratio*, a word of very wide signification, means here 'the causes and connection.' *Apparere*, 'to be seen in their proper light.'

[4] *Care*, nominative *Car*, 'a Carian,' is in apposition to *Camisare*.

[5] As to this use of *primum*, see *Thrasyb.* 1, p. 68, n. 4. Artaxerxes here is Artaxerxes Mnemon.

[6] That is, the troops commanded by the chiliarch. See *Conon*, 3, p. 75, n. 4.

[7] *Manu fortis* indicates personal bravery, *bello strenuus* activity and skill as a commander.

[8] The construction of *fungi* with the accusative instead of the ablative is antiquated.

[9] A people of Media near the Caspian Sea. This war was between 385 and 380 B.C.

eo bello cecidisset Camisares, paterna ei ut[1] traderetur provincia.

2. Pari se virtute postea praebuit,[2] cum Autophrodates[3] jussu regis bello persequeretur eos qui defecerant.[4] Namque hujus opera hostes, cum castra jam intrassent, profligati sunt, exercitusque reliquus conservatus regis est. Qua ex re majoribus rebus praeesse coepit.

Erat eo tempore Thuys,[5] dynastes Paphlagoniae antiquo genere, ortus a Pylaemene[6] illo, quem Homerus Troico bello a Patroclo interfectum ait. Is regi dicto audiens[7] non erat. Quam ob causam bello eum persequi constituit, eique rei praefecit Datamen, propinquum Paphlagonis: namque ex fratre et sorore erant nati.[8] Quam ob causam[9] Datames primum experiri voluit, ut sine armis propinquum ad officium reduceret. Ad quem cum venisset sine praesidio, quod ab amico nullas vereretur[10] insidias, paene interiit. Nam Thuys eum clam interficere voluit. Erat mater cum Datame, amita Paphlagonis. Ea, quid ageretur, resciit, filiumque monuit. Ille fuga periculum evitavit, bellumque indixit Thuyni. In quo cum ab Ariobarzane,[11] praefecto Lydiae et Ioniae toti-

1 A strange position of the *ut*, but similar instances occur.

2 'He shewed himself to be of equal valour'—that is, 'he acquitted himself with equal valour.' *Se praebere*, 'to shew one's self,' is a phrase of frequent occurrence.

3 Also written *Autophradates*. He was satrap of Lydia.

4 The inhabitants of the sea-coast of Asia Minor, who had made a general revolt.

5 Declined *Thuys*, *Thuynis*, acc. *Thuyn*, *Thuym*, or *Thuynem*. *Dynastes* (δυνάστης) is a Greek word meaning 'potentate,' 'ruler.' In chapter 3, Thuys is designated *rex*.

6 Pylaemenes was a mythical king of the Paphlagonians, who assisted Priam, king of Troy, when the Greeks besieged his city. Nepos errs in saying that he was slain by Patroclus, a friend of Achilles; Homer says that Menelaus, king of Sparta, killed him. The ancient writers not unfrequently make mistakes in names in their allusions to Homer, for they were generally so well acquainted with his poems, that they trusted entirely to memory. *Troicus*, strictly a poetical word for *Trojanus*.

7 As to this phrase, see *Lysand.* 1, p. 49, n. 5.

8 The sentence, *Erat mater*, *cet.*, a little below, shews the connection more particularly.

9 It is inelegant to have two consecutive sentences commencing with the same expression.

10 The subjunctive indicates that this is not merely a statement made by the historian, but that Datames himself assigned it—perhaps to his mother—as a reason for trusting his cousin. *Gram.* § 354; *Elem. Gram.* 353.

11 As to him, see *Timoth.* 1, p. 96, n. 8.

usque Phrygiae, desertus esset, nihilo segnius perseveravit, vivumque Thuyn cepit cum uxore et liberis.

3. Cujus facti ne prius fama ad regem quam ipse perveniret, dedit operam. Itaque, omnibus insciis, eo ubi erat rex venit, posteroque die Thuyn, hominem maximi corporis terribilique facie,[1] quod et niger et capillo longo barbaque erat promissa, optima veste texit, quam satrapae regii gerere consuerant; ornavit etiam torque[2] atque armillis aureis, ceteroque regio cultu; ipse, agresti duplici[3] amiculo circumdatus hirtaque tunica, gerens in capite galeam venatoriam, dextra manu clavam, sinistra copulam, qua vinctum ante se Thuynem agebat,[4] ut si feram bestiam captam duceret.[5] Quem cum omnes conspicerent propter novitatem ornatus ignotamque formam, ob eamque rem magnus esset concursus, fuit non nemo[6] qui agnosceret Thuym, regique nunciaret. Primo non accredidit.[7] Itaque Pharnabazum misit exploratum. A quo ut rem gestam comperit, statim admitti jussit, magnopere delectatus cum facto, tum ornatu, in primis[8] quod nobilis rex in potestatem inopinanti venerat. Itaque magnifice Datamen donatum ad exercitum misit,[9] qui tum contrahebatur, duce Pharnabazo et Tithrauste,[10] ad bellum Aegyptium, parique

[1] This combination of the genitive and ablative is somewhat strange, yet similar constructions occur in the best writers.

[2] *Aureis* qualifies *torque* as well as *armillis*.

[3] We expect *agresti duplicique*, but the fact is, that *duplex amiculum* is but one idea, like the English 'greatcoat,' and to this *agreste* is given as an attribute. *Duplex* here is 'thick,' 'coarse,' as double cloaks naturally are.

[4] The author throws this into the form of a relative clause, though *agebat* ought properly to be the main verb of this second part of the sentence. Nepos forgets that he has not given a verb to *ipse*.

[5] The object of Datames in dressing himself and his prisoner in this grotesque manner seems to have been merely to excite curiosity, and to amuse the king.

[6] *Non nemo*, 'not nobody,' is 'somebody,' 'some one;' *nemo non*, 'nobody not,' is 'everybody,' 'every one.' The reason is obvious.

[7] *Accredo* is a verb which rarely occurs. It is a strengthened *credo*, and quite classical.

[8] 'Chiefly.' The specialty lies in *inopinanti*, 'when he was not expecting such a thing.' Strictly speaking, therefore, *inopinanti* ought to have been placed immediately after *quod*.

[9] The events related from this down to the end of the fifth chapter fall between 379 and 377 B.C.

[10] As to him, see *Conon*, 3. The singular *duce* agrees with the name that stands nearest it. We see from the next sentence that Pharnabazus was really the acting commander.

eum atque illos imperio esse jussit. Postea vero quam Pharnabazum rex revocavit, illi summa imperii tradita est.

4. Hic cum maximo studio compararet exercitum, Aegyptumque[1] proficisci pararet, subito a rege litterae sunt ei missae, ut Aspim aggrederetur, qui Cataoniam tenebat; quae gens[2] jacet supra Ciliciam, confinis Cappadociae. Namque Aspis, saltuosam regionem castellisque munitam incolens, non solum imperio regis non parebat, sed etiam finitimas regiones vexabat,[3] et quae regi portarentur[4] abripiebat. Datames, etsi longe aberat[5] ab his regionibus et a majore re abstrahebatur, tamen regis voluntati morem gerendum putavit. Itaque cum paucis sed viris fortibus navem conscendit, existimans, quod accidit, facilius se imprudentem parva manu oppressurum, quam paratum, quamvis magno exercitu.[6] Hac delatus in Ciliciam, egressus inde, dies noctesque iter faciens, Taurum[7] transiit, eoque quo studuerat venit. Quaerit quibus locis sit Aspis; cognoscit haud longe abesse, profectumque eum venatum. Quae dum speculatur,[8] adventus ejus causa cognoscitur. Pisidas,[9] cum eis quos secum habebat, ad resistendum Aspis comparat. Id Datames ubi audivit, arma sumit, suos sequi jubet; ipse equo concitato ad hostem vehitur. Quem procul Aspis conspiciens ad se ferentem[10] pertimescit, atque, a conatu resistendi deterritus,

[1] Though we not unfrequently find the mere accusative of the names of countries, without a preposition, used to indicate place 'whither,' still these instances must be regarded as exceptions. The general rule is, that only the names of towns and of small islands should be so construed. *Gram.* § 257, with note 3; *Elem. Gram.* 277.

[2] The author says *gens*, as if he had named the people, not the country, before. See *Praefatio*, p. 2, n. 9. *Supra Ciliciam* is 'further inland than Cilicia,' on the same principle on which we say *in Asiam ascendere*, 'to go up into the interior of Asia.' Cataonia was a mountainous district to the north-east of Cilicia.

[3] 'Harassed,' 'made predatory incursions into.'

[4] The subjunctive is used because *quae* implies *si*, or a repeated action is meant; thus, 'if goods, or whenever goods were conveyed to the king, he made it a practice to steal them.' *Gram.* § 360, 5; *El. Gram.* 360, 5.

[5] The 'army of Egypt' was being assembled in Phoenicia. See chapter 5, beginning.

[6] 'With however great an army.' This is a common use of *quamvis*.

[7] See *Conon*, 2, p. 74, n. 11.

[8] That is, while, like a wary general, he is personally investigating the truth of the intelligence which he has received.

[9] Pisidia was the inland division of Pamphylia.

[10] *Ferentem* is here used for *se ferentem*, 'bringing himself,' 'hurrying.' Compare the use of *circumvehens* in *Timoth.* 2, with the note thereon.

sese dedit. Hunc Datames vinctum ad regem ducendum tradit Mithridati.[1]

5. Haec dum geruntur, Artaxerxes, reminiscens a quanto bello ad quam parvam rem principem ducum misisset, se ipse[2] reprehendit, et nuncium ad exercitum Acen[3] misit, quod nondum Datamen profectum putabat, qui diceret, ne ab exercitu discederet. Hic priusquam perveniret quo erat profectus, in itinere convenit[4] qui Aspim ducebant. Qua celeritate cum magnam benevolentiam regis Datames consecutus esset, non minorem invidiam aulicorum[5] excepit, qui illum unum pluris quam se omnes fieri videbant. Quo facto cuncti ad eum opprimendum consenserunt. Haec Pandantes, gazae custos regiae, amicus Datami, perscripta ei mittit, in quibus[6] docet eum magno fore periculo, si quid, illo imperante, adversi in Aegypto accidisset. Namque eam esse consuetudinem regiam,[7] ut casus adversos hominibus tribuant, secundos fortunae suae; quo[8] fieri, ut facile impellantur ad eorum perniciem, quorum ductu res male gestae nuncientur. Illum[9] hoc majore fore in discrimine, quod, quibus rex maxime obediat,[10] eos habeat inimicissimos. Talibus[11] ille litteris cognitis, cum jam ad exercitum Acen venisset, quod non ignorabat ea vere scripta, desciscere a rege constituit.[12] Neque tamen quicquam fecit, quod fide sua esset indignum.

[1] Construe thus: *Datames tradit hunc vinctum Mithridati, ducendum ad regem.* Mithridates was a son of Ariobarzanes. See chapter 10, beginning.

[2] According to our idiom, *se ipsum reprehendit* would seem more natural; but in Latin, when *ipse* is joined to personal pronouns, it commonly takes the case of the subject, except when particular emphasis rests on the object *me, te, se,* &c.

[3] A celebrated town on the coast of Phoenicia, now called Acre, or St Jean d'Acre.

[4] Supply *eos.* See *Dion,* 8, p. 86, n. 6.

[5] 'Courtiers.' This is a word which does not occur in the best writers.

[6] *In quibus* refers rather to the sense of the preceding clause than to what is expressed, *haec perscripta ei mittit* being equivalent to *haec litteris ei nuntiat.* The construction is harsh.

[7] Equivalent to *consuetudinem regum:* hence *tribuant.*

[8] That is, *et eo:* hence the infinitive *fieri.* *Gram.* § 386.

[9] Datames. *Hoc,* 'on this account.'

[10] *Obedire* is here 'to follow the advice of,' 'to be swayed by.'

[11] As to this use of *talis,* see *Themist.* 2, p. 19, n. 5.

[12] What Nepos states seems insufficient to account for the revolt of Datames. There must have been something of which our author was ignorant.

Nam Mandroclen Magnetem[1] exercitui praefecit; ipse cum suis in Cappadociam discedit, conjunctamque huic Paphlagoniam[2] occupat, celans qua voluntate esset in regem. Clam cum Ariobarzane facit amicitiam, manum comparat, urbes munitas suis tuendas tradit.

6. Sed haec propter hiemale tempus minus prospere procedebant. Audit[3] Pisidas quasdam copias adversus se parare. Filium eo Arsideum cum exercitu mittit: cadit in proelio adolescens. Proficiscitur eo pater non ita[4] cum magna manu, celans quantum vulnus[5] accepisset, quod prius ad hostem pervenire cupiebat, quam de male re gesta[6] fama ad suos perveniret, ne, cognita filii morte, animi debilitarentur militum. Quo contenderat pervenit, hisque locis[7] castra ponit, ut neque circumiri multitudine adversariorum posset,[8] neque impediri; quo minus ipse ad dimicandum manum haberet expeditam. Erat cum eo Metrobarzanes, socer ejus, praefectus equitum. Is, desperatis generi rebus, ad hostes transfugit. Id Datames ut audivit, sensit, si in turbam exisset[9] ab homine tam necessario se relictum,[10] futurum ut ceteri consilium sequerentur. In vulgus edit, suo jussu Metrobarzanem profectum pro perfuga, quo facilius receptus interficeret hostes. Quare relinqui eum par non esse, et omnes confestim sequi.[11] Quod si animo strenuo fecissent,

[1] 'A Magnesian.' Magnesia was the maritime part of Thessaly. In 377 B.C. Mandrocles was superseded by Iphicrates. See *Iphic.* 2.

[2] It would seem that in addition to his father's satrapy (chapter 1) he had received the neighbouring province of Cappadocia, and that he now took possession also of Paphlagonia.

[3] Observe the vividness which the use of the historical present gives to the events related in this chapter. *Gram.* § 332; *Elem. Gram.* 337, end.

[4] *Non ita* are separated from the adjective they qualify by *cum*. Such instances occasionally occur. *Non ita* has here, as very frequently, the sense of 'not very.'

[5] Figurative, 'affliction.' Compare *Dion*, 6.

[6] For *de re male gesta*. This position should not be imitated. *Pervenire—perveniret* is disagreeable to the ear.

[7] 'In such places.' In this sense *is* is generally used, not *hic*, but the latter also sometimes occurs.

[8] As to *ponit, ut posset*, see *Gram.* § 364, n. 2.

[9] 'If it should have gone forth to the soldiers,' for these are *turba* here.

[10] The technical word would be *desertum*.

[11] 'And (or rather 'but,' for the copulative particles often have something of a disjunctive force after negative clauses) that it was proper that all should immediately follow him.' To this second member of the sentence we supply *par esse*, without the *non*.

futurum ut adversarii non possent resistere, cum et intra vallum et foris caederentur. Hac re probata, exercitum educit, Metrobarzanem persequitur tantum;[1] qui cum ad hostes pervenerat, Datames[2] signa inferri jubet. Pisidae, nova re[3] commoti, in opinionem adducuntur perfugas mala fide compositoque[4] fecisse, ut recepti majori essent calamitati. Primum eos adoriuntur. Illi, cum quid ageretur aut quare fieret ignorarent, coacti sunt cum eis pugnare, ad quos transierant, ab hisque stare,[5] quos reliquerant; quibus cum neutri parcerent, celeriter sunt concisi. Reliquos Pisidas resistentes Datames invadit; primo impetu pellit, fugientes persequitur, multos interficit, castra hostium capit. Tali[6] consilio uno tempore et proditores perculit, et hostes profligavit, et, quod ad perniciem suam fuerat cogitatum,[7] id ad salutem convertit. Quo neque acutius ullius imperatoris cogitatum, neque celerius factum, usquam legimus.

7. Ab hoc tamen viro Sysinas, maximo natu[8] filius, desciit, ad regemque transiit, et de defectione patris detulit. Quo nuncio Artaxerxes commotus, quod intelligebat sibi cum viro forti ac strenuo negotium esse,[9] qui, cum cogitasset, facere auderet, et prius cogitare quam conari consuesset, Autophro-

1 'He pursues merely,' but intentionally refrains from coming up with him. He pretends to pursue Metrobarzanes, allowing his men to see, however, that it is but a pretence. This pursuit they naturally interpret as intended to blind the enemy.

2 The insertion of the name *Datames* here is awkward, but the nature of the preceding clause renders it necessary, for without it *qui* (Metrobarzanes) would appear the subject.

3 The *res nova* consisted in Datames léading out his men to fight, immediately after the desertion of Metrobarzanes and his followers, for it was natural, the Pisidians thought, that, when weakened by the loss of a leading officer, and, as it appears, a considerable body of troops, he should have remained quiet, till he obtained reinforcements.

4 'By agreement' with Datames. *Composito* is strictly an ablative absolute: *Gram.* § 405, n. 5. The phrase *ex* or *de composito* is more common.

5 *Ab aliquo stare* is 'to be on the side of one.'

6 As to this use of *talis*, see *Themist.* 2, p. 19, n. 5.

7 For *excogitatum*, 'devised.'

8 *Maximo natu* strictly means 'of very great age:' compare *Timoth.* 3, beginning. Here, however, it means 'eldest,' and is equivalent to *maximus natu.*

9 *Mihi cum aliquo negotium est*, 'I have to do with a person.' *Forti ac strenuo:* see chap. 1, p. 101, n. 7.

datem[1] in Cappadociam mittit. Hic ne intrare[2] posset, saltum, in quò Ciliciae portae sunt sitae, Datames praeoccupare studuit. Sed tam subito copias contrahere non potuit. A qua re depulsus, cum ea manu, quam contraxerat, locum deligit talem, ut neque circuiretur ab hostibus, neque praeteriret adversarius, quin ancipitibus locis[3] premeretur, et, si dimicare eo[4] vellet, non multum obesse multitudo hostium suae paucitati posset.

8. Haec etsi Autophrodates videbat, tamen statuit congredi, quam[5] cum tantis copiis refugere, aut tam diu uno loco sedere.[6] Habebat barbarorum equitum viginti, peditum centum milia, quos illi cardacas[7] appellant, ejusdemque generis tria milia funditorum; praeterea Cappadocum octo milia, Armeniorum decem milia, Paphlagonum quinque milia, Phrygum decem milia, Lydorum quinque milia, Aspendiorum[8] et Pisidarum circiter tria milia, Cilicum duo, Captianorum[9] totidem, ex Graecia conductorum tria, levis armaturae[10] maximum numerum. Has adversus copias spes omnis consistebat Datami in se locique natura: namque hujus[11] partem non habebat vicesimam militum. Quibus fretus conflixit, adversariorumque multa milia concidit, cum

[1] As to him, see chapter 2, beginning.

[2] Namely, into Cappadocia. *Portae Ciliciae*, 'the Cilician Gates,' was the name given to a pass in Mount Taurus, near the source of the river Cydnus, leading from Cilicia into Cappadocia. The name of Πύλαι, *Portae*, was given to a number of passes, as, for instance, Thermo-pylae.

[3] 'Double places' seems here to mean a position in a narrow valley, *with steep hills on both sides*, of which Datames had taken possession. It may be translated in a general manner by 'an unfavourable position.'

[4] *Eo* refers to the *locus talis, etc.* *In eo* would have been better.

[5] *Potius* is omitted, as occasionally.

[6] 'To remain inactive.' The verb often has this sense.

[7] *Cardaces* was the name of a brave but thievish class of Persian soldiers, a class greatly resembling the Cossacks of Russia. As to the Greek accusative *Cardacas*, see *Gram.* § 70, 7. *Milia* belongs to *viginti*, as well as to *centum*.

[8] Aspendus was a town of Pamphylia, on the river Eurymedon.

[9] A tribe quite unknown. It may be that the reading is false.

[10] *Levis armatura*, properly 'light armour,' is often used for *milites leviter armati*, 'light armed troops,' in the same way as we may speak of a chieftain appearing 'at the head of fifty lances,' for 'lance-bearers,' 'spearmen.'

[11] That is, *Autophrodatis*, he having been the subject of the preceding *sentence*.

de ipsius exercitu non amplius hominum mille[1] cecidisset; quam ob causam postero die tropaeum posuit, quo loco pridie pugnatum erat. Hinc cum castra movisset, semperque inferior copiis[2] superior omnibus proeliis discederet, quod nunquam manum consereret, nisi cum adversarios locorum angustiis clausisset, quod perito regionum callideque cogitanti saepe accidebat, Autophrodates, cum bellum duci majore regis calamitate quam adversariorum videret, pacem amicitiamque hortatus est, ut cum rege in gratiam rediret.[3] Quam ille etsi fidam non fore putabat, tamen conditionem accepit, seque ad Artaxerxem legatos missurum dixit. Sic bellum, quod rex adversus Datamen susceperat, sedatum est. Autophrodates in Phrygiam se recepit.

9. At rex, quod implacabile odium in Datamen susceperat,[4] postquam bello eum opprimi non posse animadvertit, insidiis interficere studuit; quas ille plerasque evitavit. Sicut,[5] cum ei nunciatum esset quosdam sibi insidiari, qui in amicorum erant[6] numero. De quibus quod inimici[7] detulerunt, neque credendum neque negligendum putavit: experiri voluit, verum falsumne sibi esset relatum. Itaque eo profectus est, in quo itinere[8] futuras insidias dixerant. Sed elegit corpore ac statura simillimum sui,[9] eique vestitum suum dedit, atque eo loco[10] ire, quo ipse consueverat, jussit. Ipse autem ornatu

[1] *Mille hominum:* see *Milt.* 5, p. 10, n. 11. *Mille*, being here used as a substantive, has its verb in the singular. As to the omission of *quam* after *amplius*, see *Gram.* § 305, n. 4.

[2] 'And being always inferior in forces'—that is, 'and though always inferior in forces, yet.'

[3] 'Recommended (Datames to make) peace and friendship with him, in order that thus he might return into favour with the king.' The construction of *hortor* with the accusative of the thing is rare.

[4] Observe that we have these same words (*Datamen susceperat*) two lines before. Such repetitions are not agreeable, but Nepos often offends in this respect.

[5] 'As, for example.' Supply *evitavit.*

[6] This is introduced by the author, as is shewn by the indicative. Probably, when the matter was told to Datames, the names merely of the persons involved in the plot were mentioned. This was sufficient: he knew them.

[7] Namely, *eorum.*

[8] 'On which journey,' for 'on the journey to which.'

[9] This should be *sibi*, according to the rule (*Gram.* § 267, n. 2), outward resemblance being indicated. But exceptions to this rule are numerous.

[10] In that part of the line of march where the general commonly was.

vestituque militari[1] inter corporis custodes iter facere coepit. At insidiatores, postquam in eum locum[2] agmen pervenit, decepti ordine[3] atque vestitu, impetum in eum faciunt, qui suppositus erat. Praedixerat[4] autem his Datames, cum quibus iter faciebat, ut parati essent facere[5] quod ipsum vidissent. Ipse, ut concurrentes insidiatores animum advertit,[6] tela in eos conjecit. Hoc idem cum universi fecissent, priusquam pervenirent ad eum, quem aggredi volebant, confixi conciderunt.

10. Hic tamen tam callidus vir extremo tempore captus est Mithridatis,[7] Ariobarzanis filii, dolo. Namque is pollicitus est regi se eum interfecturum, si ei rex permitteret,[8] ut, quodcunque vellet, liceret impune facere, fidemque de ea re more Persarum dextera[9] dedisset. Hanc ut accepit a rege missam,[10] copias parat, et absens amicitiam cum Datame facit; regis provincias vexat,[11] castella expugnat, magnas praedas capit, quarum partim[12] suis dispertit, partim ad Datamen mittit; pari modo complura castella ei tradit. Haec diu faciendo persuasit homini se infinitum[13] adversus regem suscepisse

[1] *Ornatus* refers to the arms, *vestitus* to the dress; and *militaris* here is 'of a common soldier,' a *miles gregarius*.

[2] As if he had mentioned the place of ambush before, which he has not. He has merely intimated that it was on the way to some place.

[3] The order of the soldiers. The guards were round the supposititious Datames, just as if he had been the real general.

[4] 'Had commanded.' See *Themist.* 7, p. 25, n. 6.

[5] The common construction of *paratus* is with *ad* and the gerund, but even the best authors sometimes join it with the infinitive.

[6] For the single word *animadvertit*. *Animum advertere* is sometimes, as here, construed with another accusative, either because the phrase is equivalent to *animum vertere ad* (compare *Timoth.* 2, p. 97, n. 7), or rather because the words form in reality one idea, and have the force of a transitive verb, 'to perceive.'

[7] As to Mithridates, see chapter 4, end.

[8] *Si permitteret—et—dedisset.* It might have been *permisisset;* but the author was probably thinking of the fact, that the 'permission' was to have effect for a long time, whereas the 'giving' was but a single act. Compare *Lysand.* 1, p. 50, n. 8.

[9] The contracted form *dextra* is more common in prose.

[10] *Dextram mittere* is either to send a deputy with powers to give the pledge of faith by shaking hands, or to say in a letter that this pledge is to be considered as given.

[11] As to this word, see chapter 4, p. 104, n. 3.

[12] *Partim* is an old form for *partem*, the accusative of *pars*. It is commonly used adverbially.

[13] That is, a war which would not terminate except by the death of one party.

bellum, cum nihilo magis, ne quam suspicionem illi praeberet insidiarum, neque[1] colloquium ejus petivit, neque in conspectum venire studuit. Sic absens amicitiam gerebat,[2] ut non beneficiis mutuis sed communi odio, quod erga[3] regem susceperant, contineri viderentur.

11. Id[4] cum satis se confirmasse arbitratus est, certiorem facit Datamen tempus esse majores exercitus parari,[5] et bellum cum ipso rege suscipi; deque ea re, si ei videretur, quo loco vellet, in colloquium veniret.[6] Probata re, colloquendi tempus sumitur locusque, quo conveniretur. Huc Mithridates cum uno, cui maxime habebat fidem, ante aliquot dies[7] venit, compluribusque locis separatim gladios obruit, eaque loca diligenter notat. Ipso autem colloquii die utrique,[8] locum qui explorarent atque ipsos[9] scrutarentur, mittunt; deinde ipsi sunt congressi. Hic cum aliquamdiu in colloquio fuissent, et diverse[10] discessissent, jamque procul Datames

[1] Two negatives in Latin commonly neutralise each other, and are equivalent to an affirmative. Here, however, the *nihilo—neque* form a strong negation, which we cannot express in translation. *Neque—neque* must be rendered by 'either—or,' whilst *nihilo* retains its force.

[2] This verb well expresses the hypocritical nature of the friendship: he 'wore' it about him like a cloak.

[3] In regard to the use of *erga*, see *Alcib.* 4, p. 58, n. 1.

[4] *Id* is, in a general way, 'the notion or idea that they were bound together by a common hatred to the king.'

[5] As to *tempus est* with the infinitive, see *Gram.* § 396, n. 3.

[6] The subject of *veniret* is Datames, and the imperfect subjunctive here represents the imperative of direct speech. *Gram.* § 388, n. 2; *Elem. Gram.* 362, end.

[7] In ordinary usage *ante aliquot dies* means 'a few days ago,' whilst in stating something that happened before another in a narrative relating to past ages, *aliquot diebus ante* is the proper expression. Nepos's use of the former mode of expression here must be viewed as a piece of negligence. 'Before' here means 'before the time fixed for the conference.' We may observe that the reason assigned by Mithridates for requesting an interview with Datames cannot have been, as Nepos says, a wish to discuss the propriety of giving up the system which they had hitherto pursued—namely, harassing the provinces of the neighbouring satraps—and of declaring open war against the king himself. Such an idea on the part of two small dynasts would have been quite preposterous. Some other object than this must have been alleged.

[8] For *uterque*. The use of the plural in reference to two individuals is rare in good writers. Its proper use is collective, 'both parties.'

[9] That is, the two generals. To *mittunt* supply *aliquos suorum*, 'some of their men.'

[10] 'Different ways.' *Diversi* would be more in accordance with the common mode of expression.

abesset, Mithridates, priusquam ad suos perveniret, ne quam suspicionem pareret, in eundem locum revertitur, atque ibi ubi telum erat impostum[1] resedit, ut si lassitudine cuperet acquiescere, Datamenque revocavit, simulans se quiddam in colloquio esse oblitum.[2] Interim telum quod latebat protulit, nudatumque vagina veste texit, ac Datami venienti ait, digredientem se animadvertisse locum quendam, qui erat in conspectu, ad castra ponenda esse idoneum. Quem cum digito demonstraret, et ille respiceret, aversum[3] ferro transfixit, priusque quam quisquam posset succurrere interfecit. Ita ille vir, qui multos consilio, neminem perfidia[4] ceperat, simulata captus est amicitia.

[1] For *impositum*. This contracted form is almost confined to poetry.

[2] As to *quiddam*—we should expect rather, *aliquid*—*obliviscor*, see *Gram.* § 280, n. 1; *Elem. Gram.* 297, end.

[3] 'He ran him through when turned away'—that is, from behind.

[4] We know from other writers, that Datames did not always refrain from faithlessness when it might serve a purpose.

XV. EPAMINONDAS.

1. **Epaminondas**, Polymni[1] filius, Thebanus. De hoc priusquam scribamus, haec praecipienda videntur lectoribus, ne alienos mores ad suos referant, neve ea, quae ipsis leviora sunt, pari modo apud ceteros fuisse arbitrentur.[2] Scimus enim musicen nostris moribus abesse[3] a principis persona, saltare vero etiam in vitiis poni; quae omnia[4] apud Graecos et grata et laude digna ducuntur. Cum autem exprimere imaginem consuetudinis atque vitae[5] velimus Epaminondae, nihil videmur debere praetermittere, quod pertineat ad eam declarandam. Quare dicemus primum de genere ejus; deinde quibus disciplinis et a quibus sit eruditus; tum de moribus ingeniique facultatibus, et si qua alia memoria digna erunt; postremo de rebus gestis, quae[6] a plurimis omnium anteponuntur virtutibus.

[1] The name is *Polymnis*, genitive *Polymnis* or *Polymnidis*. We must account for the genitive *Polymni* by supposing that Nepos either took it from a nominative *Polymnus* or *Polymnius* (*Gram.* § 58, n. 2), or that he extended to all Greek proper names of the third declension the liberty of making the genitive of some of those ending in *es* to terminate in *i* (see *Themist.* 1, p. 16, n. 1.)

[2] Our author has a similar train of observation in the *Praefatio.*

[3] 'Is away from'—that is, 'is unsuitable to,' 'does not become.'

[4] He has mentioned but two things—music and dancing. Consequently *quae omnia* is a brief expression for, 'which—and all things of the same kind.'

[5] *Consuetudo* here seems to be private life, and *vita* public.

[6] That is, *res gestae* in general, not those of Epaminondas in particular. Nepos is led to make this observation from his having put warlike deeds last, and seeming therefore to consider the virtues of the mind as of more importance. Thus the force of the clause is—I shall speak of warlike exploits last, though most men would put them first. *Plurimi omnium* is a pleonastic expression, since *plurimi* alone would be sufficient. Probably, however, *omnium* is added to shew distinctly that Nepos means 'most men,' and not merely 'very many.'

2. Natus igitur patre quo diximus, genere honesto,[1] pauper jam a majoribus[2] relictus, eruditus[3] autem sic, ut nemo Thebanus magis. Nam et citharizare[4] et cantare ad chordarum sonum doctus est a Dionysio, qui non minore fuit in musicis gloria quam Damon aut Lamprus, quorum pervulgata sunt nomina, cantare tibiis ab Olympiodoro, saltare a Calliphrone.[5] At philosophiae praeceptorem habuit Lysim[6] Tarentinum, Pythagoreum; cui quidem sic fuit deditus, ut adolescens tristem[7] ac severum senem omnibus aequalibus suis in familiaritate anteposuerit, neque prius eum a se dimisit quam in doctrinis tanto antecessit condiscipulos, ut facile intelligi posset, pari modo superaturum omnes in ceteris artibus. Atque haec ad[8] nostram consuetudinem sunt levia et potius contemnenda; at in Graecia, utique olim, magnae laudi erant. Postquam ephebus est factus, et palaestrae dare operam coepit, non tam magnitudini virium servivit quam velocitati. Illam enim ad athletarum usum, hanc ad belli existimabat utilitatem pertinere. Itaque exercebatur plurimum currendo, et luctando ad eum finem, quoad[9] stans complecti posset atque contendere. In armis vero plurimum studii consumebat.

3. Ad hanc corporis firmitatem plura etiam animi bona accesserant. Erat enim modestus, prudens, gravis, tempo-

[1] *Genus honestum* is 'an honourable race,' 'a good family,' intermediate between *genus nobile* and *genus humile* or *ignobile*.

[2] Strictly speaking, *a parentibus*, but the force of *a majoribus* is that during a series of generations the family had been poor.

[3] To *natus* and *eruditus* supply *est*.

[4] 'To play on the *cithara* or lute.' *Citharizo*, which does not occur in any other Roman writer, is merely a Greek word in Roman letters.

[5] Of these different personages scarcely anything is known but the names.

[6] In a persecution which arose against his sect, Lysis was expelled from Italy, and took refuge in Thebes, where, as is here stated, he became the tutor of Epaminondas, and where he ultimately died.

[7] *Tristis* here is simply 'grave,' and indicates that Lysis was one whose studies and experiences had shewn him the folly of frivolous mirth.

[8] 'According to,' as frequently.

[9] 'To that end or result until'—that is, 'so far that,' or here rather, 'only so far that.' He devoted great attention to running, but to wrestling only so much as made him respectable in the art. *Stans*: this is added, because there were two kinds of wrestling—one in which the competitors stood, and tried to throw each other; and one in which they lay on the ground, and endeavoured to roll each other over. The latter Epaminondas did not practise.

ribus sapienter utens; peritus belli, fortis manu, animo maximo; adeo veritatis diligens,[1] ut ne joco quidem mentiretur. Idem continens, clemens patiensque admirandum in modum,[2] non solum populi sed etiam amicorum[3] ferens injurias; in primis commissa celans, quod interdum non minus prodest quam diserte dicere; studiosus audiendi: ex hoc enim facillime disci[4] arbitrabatur. Itaque cum[5] in circulum venisset, in quo aut de republica disputaretur, aut de philosophia[6] sermo haberetur, nunquam inde prius discessit, quam ad finem sermo esset adductus. Paupertatem adeo facile perpessus est, ut de republica nihil praeter gloriam ceperit, amicorum in se tuendo[7] caruerit facultatibus; idem ad alios sublevandos saepe sic usus est,[8] ut judicari possit omnia ei cum amicis fuisse communia. Nam cum aut civium suorum aliquis ab hostibus esset captus, aut virgo[9] amici nubilis, quae propter paupertatem collocari non posset, amicorum consilium habebat, et, quantum quisque daret, pro facultatibus imperabat. Eamque[10] summam cum fecerat, priusquam acciperet pecuniam, adducebat eum, qui quaerebat, ad eos qui conferebant, eique ut ipsi numerarent faciebat, ut ille, ad quem ea res perveniebat, sciret quantum cuique deberet.[11]

[1] As to *diligens* with the genitive, see *Gram.* § 277, 1; *Elem. Gram.* 295, 1.

[2] That is, *modo admirando.* We often find *in* thus construed with *modus* and an adjective in the accusative.

[3] 'Inflicted by.' *Populi* and *amicorum* are subjective genitives. *Gram.* § 273; *Elem. Gram.* 292, middle.

[4] Impersonal, 'that knowledge was obtained.'

[5] As to *cum* in the sense of 'whenever' with the subjunctive, see *Gram.* § 355, n. 3.

[6] That is, not 'concerning philosophy' generally, but 'concerning a philosophical point.' The word has frequently this sense.

[7] *In se tuendo,* 'in maintaining himself,' stands in antithesis to *ad alios sublevandos.* What *careo* means here is seen from its antithesis, *usus est. Careo facultatibus amicorum,* 'I have not—that is, do not make use of—the property of my friends.'

[8] Supply *amicorum facultatibus. Ut judicari possit:* present, equivalent to *ut judicare possimus,* 'that we—now, at the present day—may judge.'

[9] Here '(unmarried) daughter,' as the context shews. Repeat *esset* from *captus esset.*

[10] The author speaks as if he had mentioned the sum. Supply 'which his friends could afford.'

[11] Namely, in gratitude.

4. Tentata autem ejus est abstinentia a Diomedonte Cyziceno.[1] Namque is rogatu Artaxerxis[2] regis Epaminondam pecunia corrumpendum susceperat. Hic magno cum pondere auri Thebas venit, et Micythum adolescentulum quinque talentis ad suam perduxit voluntatem, quem tum Epaminondas plurimum diligebat. Micythus Epaminondam convenit, et causam adventus Diomedontis ostendit. At ille Diomedonte coram 'Nihil,'[3] inquit, 'opus pecunia est. Nam si rex ea vult, quae Thebanis sunt utilia, gratis facere sum paratus; sin autem contraria, non habet auri atque argenti satis. Namque orbis terrarum divitias accipere nolo pro[4] patriae caritate. Tu[5] quod me incognitum tentasti tuique similem existimasti, non miror, tibique ignosco; sed egredere propere, ne alios corrumpas, cum[6] me non potueris. Et tu, Micythe, argentum huic redde; nisi id confestim facis, ego te tradam magistratui.' Hunc Diomedon cum rogaret, ut tuto exire suaque, quae attulerat, liceret efferre, 'Istud quidem,' inquit, 'faciam, neque[7] tua causa sed mea, ne, si tibi sit pecunia adempta, aliquis dicat id ad me ereptum pervenisse, quod delatum accipere noluissem.' A quo cum quaesisset, quo se deduci vellet, et ille Athenas dixisset, praesidium dedit, ut tuto perveniret. Neque vero id satis habuit, sed etiam, ut inviolatus in navem escenderet, per Chabriam Atheniensem, de quo supra mentionem fecimus, effecit. Abstinentiae erit hoc satis testimonium.[8] Plurima quidem proferre possemus, sed modus adhibendus est, quoniam uno hoc volumine vitam excellentium virorum complurium concludere constituimus, quorum[9] separatim multis milibus versuum complures scriptores ante nos explicarunt.

5. Fuit etiam disertus,[10] ut nemo ei Thebanus par esset

[1] As to Cyzicus, see *Timoth.* 1, p. 96, n. 7.

[2] Artaxerxes Mnemon. The date is about 374 B.C.

[3] The accusative of reference, 'in nothing'—that is, 'not at all,' 'in no way.' *Gram.* § 259, 2, n. 2.

[4] 'In place of,' 'instead of.'

[5] Diomedon. In the next sentence he turns to Micythus.

[6] 'Although,' as the sense of the passage shews.

[7] 'And not,' or 'and that not.'

[8] Construe thus: *hoc testimonium abstinentiae erit satis.* The arrangement of the words is somewhat unusual.

[9] To *quorum* supply *vitam.* *Versus*, being derived from *verto*, and therefore simply the 'turning' of the hand or pen at the end of a line, is used for a line in prose as well as in verse.

[10] *Ita* is omitted, as frequently.

eloquentia,[1] neque minus concinnus in brevitate respondendi quam in perpetua oratione[2] ornatus. Habuit obtrectatorem Meneclidem quendam indidem[3] Thebis et adversarium in administranda republica, satis exercitatum in dicendo, ut Thebanum scilicet:[4] namque illi genti plus inest virium quam ingenii. Is, quod in re militari florere Epaminondam videbat, hortari solebat Thebanos ut pacem bello anteferrent, ne[5] illius imperatoris opera desideraretur. Huic ille 'Fallis,' inquit, 'verbo cives tuos, quod hos a bello revocas: otii enim nomine servitutem concilias. Nam paritur pax bello. Itaque qui ea diutina volunt frui, bello exercitati esse debent. Quare si principes Graeciae vultis[6] esse, castris est vobis utendum, non palaestra.' Idem ille Meneclides cum huic objiceret, quod liberos non haberet, neque uxorem duxisset, maximeque insolentiam, quod sibi Agamemnonis[7] belli gloriam videretur consecutus, 'At,' ille, 'desine,' inquit,[8] 'Meneclida, de uxore mihi exprobrare: nam nullius in ista re minus uti consilio volo.' (Habebat enim Meneclides suspicionem adulteri.[9]) 'Quod autem me Agamemnonem aemulari putas, falleris. Namque ille cum universa Graecia vix decem annis unam cepit urbem; ego contra ea una urbe nostra dieque uno totam Graeciam, Lacedaemoniis fugatis, liberavi.'[10]

6. Idem cum in conventum venisset Arcadum petens, ut

[1] This, according to Nepos's own observation (*ut Thebanum, etc.*, a little below), is no very great praise; but Epaminondas was really eloquent. See chapter 6.

[2] *Oratio perpetua* is 'a formal, connected speech,' as distinguished from the single incidental observations to which *brevitas respondendi* refers.

[3] *Indidem*, compounded of *inde* and *idem*, is an adverb, meaning 'from the same place.' Hence *indidem Thebis* is 'who was from, a native of, the same place (as Epaminondas), Thebes.'

[4] 'That is to say, for a Theban.'

[5] *Ne* depends on *hortari solebat*, not on *anteferrent*. It was his private reason for giving the advice, not that which he brought before the people.

[6] Epaminondas here turns to the people.

[7] King of Mycenae, and commander-in-chief of the Greeks in the Trojan war.

[8] As to this order of words, see *Iphic.* 3, p. 91, n. 8; and as to the vocative *Meneclida*, see *Gram.* § 55, n. 2.

[9] For *adulterii*, from *adulterium*. *Gram.* § 58, n. 2.

[10] The reference is to the celebrated battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.), in which the Thebans under Epaminondas routed the Lacedaemonians with great slaughter.

societatem cum Thebanis et Argivis facerent, contraque Callistratus,[1] Atheniensium legatus, qui eloquentia omnes eo praestabat tempore, postularet, ut potius amicitiam sequerentur Atticorum,[2] et in oratione sua multa[3] invectus esset in Thebanos et Argivos, in eisque hoc posuisset,[4] animum advertere debere Arcadas, quales utraque civitas cives procreasset, ex quibus de ceteris possent judicare: Argivos enim fuisse Orestem[5] et Alcmaeonem, matricidas; Thebis Oedipum natum, qui[6] cum patrem suum interfecisset, ex matre liberos procreasse: huic in respondendo Epaminondas, cum de ceteris perorasset, postquam ad illa duo opprobria[7] pervenit, admirari se dixit stultitiam rhetoris Attici, qui non animadverterit innocentes illos natos, domi scelere admisso, cum patria essent expulsi, receptos esse ab Atheniensibus.[8] Sed maxime ejus eloquentia eluxit Spartae, legati[9] ante pugnam Leuctricam. Quo cum omnium sociorum convenissent legati,

1 Callistratus—whose oratory it was, according to tradition, that fired the ambition of the great Demosthenes—was much mixed up with the political events of this time. He warmly supported Spartan interests at Athens.

2 As to the use of *Attici* for *Athenienses*, see *Thrasyb.* 3, p. 70, n. 12.

3 *Invehor*, being strictly the passive of *inveho*, cannot, even in its figurative sense, govern an accusative. *Multa* is therefore an accusative of reference. *Gram.* § 259, 2, n. 2.

4 'Had laid down this'—that is, 'had made this statement.'

5 Orestes, Alcmaeon, and Oedipus are mythical heroes. Orestes, son of Agamemnon, slew his mother Clytaemnestra, in revenge for her having murdered his father. Orestes is called an Argive, because Mycenae, his father's capital, was in the district of Argolis, and but a few miles north of Argos. Alcmaeon, son of Amphiaraus, king of Argos, killed his mother Eriphyle, because—bribed with a necklace—she had persuaded her husband to join an expedition against Thebes, in which, being possessed of the power of prophecy, he knew that he should perish. Oedipus, son of Laius, king of Thebes, was exposed in infancy, but saved and brought up by Polybus, king of Corinth. Being ignorant of his parentage, he killed his father in an accidental scuffle, and married his mother Jocaste.

6 *Qui cum interfecisset, procreasse* is a somewhat singular construction for *qui, cum interfecisset, procreasset.* The relative is drawn into the clause with *cum*, and to *procreasse* we must supply *eum.*

7 Namely, that against the Argives and that against the Thebans.

8 Orestes and Oedipus took refuge at Athens. As to Alcmaeon, nothing of the kind is recorded, but there may have been a tradition to this effect.

9 In apposition to *ejus*, 'as ambassador'—that is, 'when he was ambassador.' As to the battle of Leuctra, see 5, p. 117, n. 10. Leuctra was a village in the south of Boeotia, not far from Plataeae.

coram frequentissimo legationum[1] conventu sic Lacedaemoniorum tyrannidem[2] coarguit, ut non minus illa oratione opes eorum concusserit quam Leuctrica pugna. Tum enim perfecit, quod post apparuit, ut auxilio Lacedaemonii sociorum privarentur.

7. Fuisse patientem suorumque injurias ferentem civium, quod se patriae irasci nefas esse duceret, haec sunt testimonia. Cum[3] eum propter invidiam cives praeficere exercitui noluissent, duxque esset delectus belli imperitus, cujus errore eo esset deducta illa multitudo militum, ut omnes de salute pertimescerent, quod locorum angustiis clausi ab hostibus obsidebantur, desiderari coepta est Epaminondae diligentia. Erat enim ibi privatus, numero militis.[4] A quo cum peterent opem, nullam adhibuit memoriam contumeliae, et exercitum obsidione liberatum domum reduxit incolumem. Nec vero hoc semel fecit,[5] sed saepius. Maxime autem fuit illustre, cum[6] Peloponnesum exercitum duxisset adversus Lacedaemonios, haberetque collegas duos, quorum alter erat Pelopidas, vir fortis ac strenuus. Hi cum criminibus adversariorum omnes in invidiam venissent, ob eamque rem imperium his esset abrogatum, atque in eorum locum alii praetores successissent, Epaminondas populiscito non paruit, idemque ut facerent persuasit collegis, et bellum quod susceperat gessit. Namque animadvertebat, nisi id fecisset, totum exercitum propter praetorum imprudentiam inscientiamque[7] belli periturum. Lex erat Thebis, quae morte multabat, si quis

[1] For *legatorum*, the abstract for the concrete.

[2] That is, the domination which they had assumed in Greece, particularly since the battle of Aegospotami (*Lysand.* 1.)

[3] The events here related occurred (368 B.C.) in an expedition to Thessaly, to rescue Pelopidas from Alexander, tyrant of Pherae. See *Pelop.* 5. The *invidia* arose from a belief on the part of the Thebans, that Epaminondas had not followed up his successes in a campaign against the Lacedaemonians, in the earlier part of the year, so vigorously as he might have done.

[4] 'In the position or rank of a common soldier.' *Numerus* not unfrequently has this sense.

[5] *Hoc fecit* refers generally to what goes before, 'he did this'—that is, he bore with patience the wrongs done him by his fellow-citizens.

[6] In 369 B.C. As to the use of the mere accusative, *Peloponnesum*, see *Milt.* 2, p. 6, n. 3.

[7] The form *inscientia*, though not so common as *inscitia*, nevertheless occurs in the best writers. As to *inscientia belli praetorum*, see *Gram.* § 276, n. 4. *Inscientia* governs *belli*, and then *inscientia belli*, forming, as it were, but one idea, governs *praetorum*.

imperium diutius retinuisset quam lege praefinitum foret. Hanc Epaminondas cum reipublicae conservandae causa latam videret, ad perniciem civitatis conferre[1] noluit, et quattuor mensibus diutius quam populus jusserat gessit imperium.

8. Postquam domum reditum est, collegae ejus hoc crimine accusabantur. Quibus ille permisit, ut omnem causam[2] in se transferrent, suaque opera factum contenderent,[3] ut legi non obedirent. Qua defensione illis periculo liberatis, nemo Epaminondam responsurum[4] putabat, quod, quid diceret, non haberet. At ille in judicium venit, nihil eorum negavit, quae adversarii crimini[5] dabant, omniaque quae collegae dixerant confessus est, nequè recusavit quo minus legis poenam subiret, sed unum ab iis[6] petivit, ut in periculo suo inscriberent: 'Epaminondas a Thebanis morte multatus est, quod eos coëgit apud Leuctra superare Lacedaemonios, quos ante se imperatorem nemo Boeotorum ausus fuit aspicere in acie, quodque uno proelio[7] non solum Thebas ab interitu retraxit, sed etiam universam Graeciam in libertatem vindicavit, eoque res utrorumque[8] perduxit, ut Thebani Spartam oppugnarent, Lacedaemonii satis haberent,[9] si salvi esse possent, neque prius bellare destitit quam, Messene[10] restituta, urbem eorum

[1] 'To employ it'—that is, by obedience to it.

[2] 'The whole of the law-process,' 'the whole burden of the action.'

[3] 'Should maintain, declare.' See *Themist.* 7, p. 25, n. 1.

[4] 'Would answer' the accusers—that is, would stand his trial, appear before the court.

[5] As to this dative, see *Gram.* § 270; *Elem. Gram.* 289.

[6] That is, the judges, which must be taken out of *judicium. In periculo suo*, 'in the record of his sentence.' *Periculum* means here the record of his crime and sentence, which was to be preserved in the judicial archives. The use of *periculum* with such a sense is very rare: Cicero, however, has it once. According to other authors, Epaminondas wished something to be inscribed upon his tomb like what Nepos gives above.

[7] Namely, that of Leuctra just mentioned.

[8] 'Of the two nations,' the Thebans and Spartans.

[9] That is, were content, thought themselves fortunate. This phrase is used by the best writers.

[10] Messene was the chief town of Messenia, the south-western division of Peloponnesus. This district had long been in the possession of Sparta, and it was a principal aim of Epaminondas to re-establish the independence of the Messenians, that Lacedaemon might have in her immediate neighbourhood a foe ready to seize upon the first opportunity of revenging the oppression of centuries.

obsidione clausit.'[1] Haec cum dixisset, risus omnium cum hilaritate coörtus est, neque quisquam judex ausus est de eo ferre suffragium. Sic a judicio capitis[2] maxima discessit gloria.

9. Hic extremo tempore imperator apud Mantineam[3] cum acie instructa audacius instaret hostes,[4] cognitus[5] a Lacedaemoniis, quod in unius pernicie ejus patriae sitam putabant salutem, universi in unum impetum fecerunt, neque prius abscesserunt quam, magna caede multisque occisis,[6] fortissime ipsum Epaminondam pugnantem, sparo[7] eminus percussum, concidere viderunt. Hujus casu aliquantum retardati sunt Boeotii, neque tamen prius pugna excesserunt quam repugnantes profligarunt. At Epaminondas, cum animadverteret mortiferum se vulnus accepisse, simulque, si ferrum, quod ex hastili in corpore remanserat, extraxisset, animam statim emissurum,[8] usque eo retinuit, quoad renunciatum est vicisse Boeotios. Id postquam audivit, 'Satis,' inquit, 'vixi: invictus enim morior.' Tum ferro extracto, confestim exanimatus est.

10. Hic uxorem nunquam duxit. In quo cum reprehenderetur, quod liberos non relinqueret, a Pelopida, qui filium habebat infamem, maleque eum in eo patriae consulere diceret,[9] 'Vide,' inquit, 'ne tu pejus consulas, qui talem ex te

[1] As this contains nothing more than what has been already said in *Spartam oppugnarent*, the author is guilty of tautology. The words are added, probably, to give the sentence a harmonious close.

[2] 'A capital trial,' 'a trial on a capital charge.'

[3] A town in the east of Arcadia, the central division of Peloponnesus. The battle of Mantinea took place in the year 362 B.C. *Cum* here is the conjunction, not the preposition.

[4] *Instare* is much more commonly construed with the dative than with the accusative. Compare *Eum.* 4, middle.

[5] The author begins with the intention to make Epaminondas the subject of the sentence, but afterwards alters his construction.

[6] 'There having been a great slaughter, and many having been killed.' If both of these ablatives absolute refer to one party, the tautology is gross. But it may be that *magna caede*, which is equivalent to *magna caede facta*, refers to the slaughter that the Spartans made among the Thebans, *multis occisis* to the loss which befell the Spartans themselves.

[7] *Sparus* or *sparum* was a kind of javelin used principally by peasants.

[8] As to this expression, compare *Pausan.* 5, p. 42, n. 5.

[9] The subject to *diceret* is Pelopidas. The change of subject is somewhat awkward; the sentence would have been better thus, *in quo cum eum reprehenderet Pelopidas—et diceret.*

natum relicturus sis. Neque vero stirps potest mihi deesse. Namque ex me natam relinquo pugnam Leuctricam, quae non modo mihi superstes sed etiam immortalis sit necesse est.' Quo tempore, duce Pelopida, exules Thebas occuparunt,[1] et praesidium Lacedaemoniorum ex arce expulerunt, Epaminondas, quamdiu facta est caedes civium, domo[2] se tenuit, quod neque malos defendere volebat neque impugnare, ne manus suorum[3] sanguine cruentaret. Namque omnem civilem victoriam funestam putabat. Idem, postquam apud Cadmeam[4] cum Lacedaemoniis pugna coepit, in primis stetit.[5] Hujus de virtutibus vitaque satis erit dictum, si hoc unum adjunxero, quod nemo it infitias,[6] Thebas et ante Epaminondam natum et post ejusdem interitum perpetuo alieno paruisse imperio; contra ea, quamdiu ille praefuerit reipublicae, caput fuisse totius Graeciae. Ex quo intelligi potest, unum hominem pluris quam civitatem fuisse.

[1] See *Pelop.* 2, end, and following chapter.

[2] 'At home,' 'in his house.' *Domi* (*Gram.* § 268, n. 3; *Elem. Gram.* 49, end) is the regular mode of expression. The ablative also, however, occurs sometimes, but very rarely. Compare *Lysand.* 3, p. 52, n. 4.

[3] Namely, *civium*, 'of his fellow-citizens,' as the context shews.

[4] The Cadmea was the citadel of Thebes, so named from Cadmus, a celebrated Phoenician hero, who is said by tradition to have been the founder of the city.

[5] 'Stood among the first'—that is, was in the first rank, in the very foremost of the fight.

[6] *Infitias eo* is a peculiar phrase, meaning 'I deny.' The deponent verb *infitior*, in the same sense, is also in use.

XVI. PELOPIDAS.

1. PELOPIDAS Thebanus magis historicis[1] quam vulgo notus. Cujus de virtutibus dubito quemadmodum exponam, quod vereor, si res explicare incipiam, ne non vitam ejus enarrare sed historiam videar scribere;[2] si tantummodo summas[3] attigero, ne rudibus Graecarum litterarum minus dilucide appareat, quantus fuerit ille vir. Itaque utrique rei occurram,[4] quantum potuero, et medebor cum satietati, tum ignorantiae lectorum.

Phoebidas[5] Lacedaemonius, cum exercitum Olynthum duceret, iterque per Thebas faceret, arcem oppidi, quae Cadmea nominatur, occupavit impulsu paucorum Thebanorum, qui, adversariae factioni quo facilius resisterent, Laconum rebus studebant, idque suo privato, non publico fecit consilio. Quo facto, eum Lacedaemonii ab exercitu removerunt, pecuniaque multarunt, neque[6] eo magis arcem Thebanis reddiderunt, quod, susceptis inimicitiis, satius ducebant eos obsideri quam liberari. Nam post Peloponnesium bellum Athenasque devictas cum Thebanis sibi rem esse[7]

1 That is, not merely 'historians,' but 'persons versed in history.'

2 'Not to be giving a full account (*enarrare*) of his life—that is, to be composing a biography—but to be writing a history.' Pelopidas was so connected with almost everything of importance that occurred in Greece during his lifetime, that a detailed life of him would appear like a history of Greece. *Res explicare* is 'to relate things at length.'

3 Supply *rerum*. *Summae rerum* are 'the chief events.'

4 'I shall meet'—that is, 'obviate,' 'provide against.'

5 The date is 382 B.C. Phoebidas was on his way to reinforce his brother Eudamidas, who, in the preceding year, had been sent against Olynthus, an important town of Macedonia, on the Toronaic Gulf.

6 *Neque* here must be translated by 'but—not,' as frequently.

7 *Res* or *negotium est mihi cum aliquo*, 'I have to do with a person.'

existimabant, et eos esse solos, qui adversus[1] resistere auderent. Hac mente amicis suis summas potestates dederant, alteriusque factionis principes partim interfecerant, alios[2] in exilium ejecerant; in quibus Pelopidas hic, de quo scribere exorsi sumus, pulsus patria carebat.

2. Hi omnes fere Athenas se contulerant, non quo sequerentur otium, sed ut, quem ex proximo locum fors obtulisset, eo patriam recuperare niterentur. Itaque cum tempus est visum rei gerendae, communiter cum iis, qui Thebis idem sentiebant, diem delegerunt ad inimicos opprimendos civitatemque liberandam eum, quo maximi magistratus[3] simul consuerant epulari. Magnae saepe res non ita[4] magnis copiis sunt gestae; sed profecto nunquam tam ab[5] tenui initio tantae opes sunt profligatae. Nam duodecim adolescentuli coïerunt ex his qui exilio erant multati, cum omnino non essent amplius centum,[6] qui tanto se offerrent periculo. Qua paucitate perculsa est Lacedaemoniorum potentia. Hi[7] enim non magis adversariorum factioni quam Spartanis eo tempore bellum intulerunt, qui principes erant totius Graeciae; quorum imperii majestas, neque ita multo post,[8] Leuctrica pugna,[9] ab hoc initio perculsa concidit. Illi igitur[10] duodecim, quorum dux erat Pelopidas,[11] cum Athenis interdiu exissent,[12]

[1] *Adversus* is implied in *resistere*, but Nepos is somewhat fond of thus strengthening his verbs. Compare *Alcib.* 4, middle, *clam se ab custodibus subduxit*, where *subducere* of itself involves the idea of secrecy.

[2] Strictly *partim* again; but as *alios* gives the same sense, the writer varies.

[3] Who had the title of Polemarchs. The time was that of the Aphrodisia, or festival of Aphrodite (Venus), in the year 379 B.C.

[4] 'Not very,' as frequently.

[5] As to this position of the words, compare *Datam.* 6, p. 106, n. 4.

[6] Considerably under a hundred, for the number of those who met in Charon's house (see end of chapter), including the patriots from the city, was only forty-eight.

[7] Namely, the *adolescentuli* before mentioned.

[8] 'And that not very long after.' This is a kind of abbreviated expression for *quorum imperii majestas concidit, neque ita multo post concidit.*

[9] As to this battle, see *Epam.* 5, p. 117, n. 10.

[10] *Igitur*, 'then,' takes up the thread of the narrative, which has been somewhat interrupted by reflections.

[11] Xenophon, an eminent Greek historian, makes Mellon the leader, but there can be no doubt that Pelopidas at least took a prominent part.

[12] *Cum exissent—exierunt*, besides being an offensive repetition of the same verb, is obviously absurd, since after they had gone out, they did not go out again. We must regard *exissent* as a slip for *exirent*—

ut vesperascente coelo[1] Thebas possent pervenire, cum canibus venaticis exierunt, retia ferentes, vestitu agresti, quo minore suspicione facerent iter. Qui cum tempore ipso quo studuerant pervenissent, domum Charonis deverterunt, a quo et tempus et dies[2] erat datus.

3. Hoc loco libet interponere,[3] etsi sejunctum ab re proposita est, nimia fiducia quantae calamitati soleat esse. Nam magistratuum Thebanorum statim ad aures pervenit, exules in urbem venisse. Id illi, vino epulisque dediti, usque eo despexerunt, ut ne quaerere quidem de tanta re laborarint.[4] Accessit etiam, quod[5] magis aperiret eorum dementiam. Allata est enim epistola Athenis ab Archino uni ex his,[6] Archiae, qui tum maximum magistratum Thebis obtinebat, in qua omnia de profectione eorum[7] perscripta erant. Quae cum jam accubanti[8] in convivio esset data, sicut erat signata,[9] sub pulvinum subjiciens, 'In crastinum,' inquit, 'differo res severas.'[10] At illi omnes, cum jam nox processisset, vinolenti ab exulibus, duce Pelopida, sunt interfecti. Quibus rebus

Nepos probably intending to finish the sentence in some other way than he has done.

[1] *Vesperascit*, being an impersonal verb, cannot properly be thus joined with a substantive. However, even granting this licence, *coelo vesperascente* is not so accurate as the expression which we find in another writer, *die vesperascente*.

[2] More correctly, *et dies et tempus*, for the meaning is 'both the day and the time, or part, of the day.'

[3] 'To interpose the observation,' 'to remark in passing.'

[4] 'That they did not take pains even to make inquiries.' *Laborarint* intimates that the polemarchs did not give themselves much trouble about the matter. They did make some inquiries at Charon, as we are informed by another writer, but were easily satisfied.

[5] 'There was added also a thing which'—that is, there was besides an incident which. The subjunctive is according to *Gram.* § 360, 3; *Elem. Gram.* 360, 3.

[6] Namely, the polemarchs. The person from whom the letter came is also called by another writer Archias, not Archinus.

[7] That is, of the exiles. The pronoun is used carelessly here.

[8] The ancients reclined at table, resting on the left elbow, with the upper part of their bodies slightly raised by cushions (*pulvini*), and their limbs stretched out at full length.

[9] In Latin we can say either *epistolam, sicut erat, signatam sub pulvinum subjecit*, 'he put the letter sealed, just as it was, under his cushion,' or *epistolam, sicut erat signata, sub pulvinum subjecit*, in which the participle is drawn into the accessory clause. The shade of difference in meaning, if there be any, is very slight.

[10] 'I put off serious matters till to-morrow.' *Severus* is not often employed in the sense of *serius*, but this use does occur sometimes.

confectis, vulgo ad arma libertatemque vocato, non solum qui in urbe erant sed etiam undique ex agris concurrerunt, praesidium Lacedaemoniorum ex arce pepulerunt, patriam obsidione[1] liberarunt, auctores Cadmeae occupandae[2] partim occiderunt, partim in exilium ejecerunt.

4. Hoc tam turbido tempore, sicut supra[3] docuimus, Epaminondas, quoad cum civibus dimicatum est, domi quietus fuit. Itaque haec liberandarum Thebarum propria laus est Pelopidae; ceterae fere communes cum Epaminonda. Namque Leuctrica pugna,[4] imperatore Epaminonda, hic fuit dux delectae manus,[5] quae prima phalangem prostravit Laconum. Omnibus praeterea periculis affuit (sicut[6] Spartam cum oppugnavit, alterum tenuit cornu), quoque[7] Messena celerius restitueretur, legatus in Persas[8] est profectus. Denique haec fuit altera persona[9] Thebis, sed tamen secunda ita, ut proxima esset Epaminondae.

5. Conflictatus autem est cum adversa fortuna. Nam et initio, sicut ostendimus, exul patria caruit, et cum Thessaliam in potestatem Thebanorum cuperet redigere, legationisque

[1] The city (for to *patria* here *urbs* must be supplied, as not unfrequently) had not been, strictly speaking, under siege, but the Lacedaemonian garrison in the Cadmea had completely overawed it.

[2] This looks back to the time when Phoebidas came to Thebes: 'those who (the faction which) had advised the seizing of the Cadmea.' See chapter 1, *impulsu paucorum Thebanorum, cet.*

[3] See *Epam.* 10.

[4] The preposition *in* might very well have been inserted before this ablative, but see *Gram.* § 308, n. 2; *Elem. Gram.* 321, end. As to *imperator* and *dux*, observe that wherever, as here, the two are contrasted, the former is 'a commander-in-chief,' the latter, 'a subordinate leader.'

[5] Known under the name of The Sacred Band.

[6] 'As, for instance.' The date is 369 B.C.

[7] This is for *et quo*—that is, *et ut eo.* As to Messene or Messena, see *Epam.* 8, p. 120, n. 10.

[8] For *in Persiam* or *in Persidem.* Names of nations are very often used for those of countries, and in some cases—*Sabini* and *Volsci*, for example—we must employ the name of the people, for there is no name for the country. This mission of Pelopidas into Persia falls in the year 367 B.C. The king (Artaxerxes Mnemon) consented that, so far as he could effect it, Messenia should remain independent.

[9] 'He was the second character,' or, more distinctly, 'the second man.' The figure is taken from a play, and hence the meaning is this: in the drama of Theban history, Pelopidas played the second part in importance. He was inferior only to Epaminondas. As this second part, however, might have been very far inferior to the first, our author adds, 'but yet in such a manner (or measure) second, that he was *very near* Epaminondas.'

jure satis tectum se arbitraretur, quod apud omnes gentes sanctum esse consuesset, a tyranno Alexandro Pheraeo simul cum Ismenia comprehensus, in vincla conjectus est.[1] Hunc Epaminondas recuperavit, bello persequens Alexandrum.[2] Post id factum[3] nunquam animo placari potuit in eum, a quo erat violatus. Itaque persuasit Thebanis, ut subsidio Thessaliae proficiscerentur, tyrannosque ejus expellerent.[4] Cujus belli cum ei summa esset data, eoque cum exercitu profectus esset, non dubitavit,[5] simulac conspexit hostem, confligere. In quo proelio Alexandrum ut animadvertit, incensus ira, equum in eum concitavit, proculque digressus a suis, conjectu telorum confossus, concidit. Atque hoc secunda victoria[6] accidit: nam jam inclinatae erant tyrannorum copiae. Quo facto, omnes Thessaliae civitates interfectum Pelopidam coronis aureis[7] et statuis aeneis, liberosque ejus multo agro donarunt.

[1] The date is 368 B.C. Alexander of Pherae ruled over the greater part of Thessaly, and governed in a most tyrannical manner. Ismenias was a leading man at Thebes, in the party opposed to Lacedaemon.

[2] In 367 B.C. *Recuperare*, as applied to persons, means either, as here, 'to recover one who has been separated from us (locally),' or 'to regain the affection or adherence of one who has been alienated from us.'

[3] This does not refer to what is stated in the preceding sentence, but generally to the story just related; 'after this affair.'

[4] This was in 364 B.C. By *tyranni* Nepos probably means the magistrates of the Thessalian towns who ruled in Alexander's interest.

[5] 'He did not hesitate,' a frequent sense of *dubito*.

[6] 'Victory being favourable,' 'when victory was favourable,' a somewhat tautological mode of expression. It may be translated by our phrase, 'in the moment of victory,' although it refers rather to a point of time a little before the victory was quite decided.

[7] These were probably placed on the statues.

XVII. AGESILAUS.

1. AGESILAUS Lacedaemonius cum a ceteris scriptoribus, tum eximie a Xenophonte Socratico[1] collaudatus est: eo enim usus est familiarissime.[2] Hic primum[3] de regno cum Leotychide, fratris filio, habuit contentionem. Mos est enim a majoribus Lacedaemoniis traditus,[4] ut duos haberent semper reges, nomine magis quam imperio,[5] ex duabus familiis Procli[6] et Eurysthenis, qui principes[7] ex progenie Herculis Spartae reges fuerunt. Horum[8] ex altera in alterius familiae locum fieri non licebat. Ita utraque suum retinebat ordinem. Primum ratio habebatur,[9] qui maximus natu esset ex liberis ejus, qui regnans decessisset. Sin is virilem sexum[10] non reliquisset, tum deligebatur qui proximus esset propinquitate.

[1] Xenophon, a disciple of Socrates, and a distinguished historical and philosophical writer, composed a panegyric upon Agesilaus, which is still extant.

[2] That is, *Agesilaus Xenophonte usus est familiarissime*, 'was very intimate with him.'

[3] As to this use of *primum*, see *Thrasyb.* 1, p. 68, n. 4.

[4] *Traditus est*, 'was handed down,' there being no kings at Lacedaemon in the time of Nepos.

[5] 'Kings in name rather than in power,' the *ephori* being in reality the chief magistrates.

[6] From *Procles:* see *Themist.* 1, p. 16, n. 1. It is somewhat singular, that the author varies in his mode of declining the two names which stand so near each other.

[7] That is, *primi*, 'first.'

[8] *Horum* refers to Eurysthenes and Procles, and is governed by the two *familiae* spoken of, rather than either by the single genitive *familiae*, or the single ablative *familia*, understood to *altera*. To *fieri* supply *regem*.

[9] 'Account was made of him,' or 'regard was paid to him,' for *ejus* is to be supplied before *qui*. See *Dion*, 8, p. 86, n. 6.

[10] '*Male sex*,' for 'male children.'

Mortuus erat[1] Agis rex, frater Agesilai. Filium reliquerat Leotychidem, quem ille natum[2] non agnorat; eundem moriens suum esse dixerat. Is de honore regni cum Agesilao, patruo suo, contendit, neque[3] id quod petivit consecutus est. Nam, Lysandro suffragante, homine, ut ostendimus supra,[4] factioso et his temporibus potente, Agesilaus antelatus est.

2. Hic simulatque imperii potitus est, persuasit Lacedaemoniis, ut exercitus emitterent in Asiam, bellumque regi[5] facerent, docens satius esse in Asia quam in Europa dimicari.[6] Namque fama exierat, Artaxerxen comparare classes pedestresque[7] exercitus, quos in Graeciam mitteret. Data potestate, tanta celeritate usus est, ut prius in Asiam cum copiis pervenerit, quam regii satrapae eum scirent profectum.[8] Quo factum est, ut omnes imparatos imprudentesque offenderet. Id[9] ut cognovit Tissaphernes, qui summum imperium tum inter praefectos habebat regios, indutias a Lacone petivit, simulans se dare operam, ut Lacedaemoniis cum rege conveniret,[10] re autem vera ad copias comparandas; easque impetravit trimestres. Juravit autem uterque se sine dolo indutias conservaturum. In qua pactione summa fide mansit Agesilaus; contra ea Tissaphernes nihil aliud quam[11] bellum comparavit. Id etsi sentiebat Laco, tamen jusjurandum servabat multumque in eo se consequi dicebat, quod Tissaphernes perjurio suo et homines suis rebus abalienaret, et deos sibi iratos redderet; se autem, conservata religione, confirmare exercitum, cum animadverteret deum[12] numen facere

1 In the year 398 B.C.

2 'Whom, having been born'—that is, 'whom, when he was born,' or 'at his birth.'

3 'But—not,' as frequently.

4 In his life, chapter 1.

5 We have several times previously had occasion to observe that the king of Persia is very often called simply *rex*, '*the* king' by preeminence, the great king.

6 Impersonal: 'that it was better for fighting (that is, for the war) to be carried on in Asia than in Europe.'

7 In the sense of *terrestres*: see *Alcib.* 8, p. 62, n. 12.

8 Agesilaus crossed over into Asia in 396 B.C.

9 That is, his arrival in Asia.

10 *Mihi cum aliquo convenit*, 'I come to an understanding or agreement with a person.' The matter in dispute was the independence of the Greek states in Asia Minor.

11 *Nihil aliud quam, etc.*, is a contracted mode of expression, common in Latin, for *nihil aliud egit quam*. See *Hannib.* 10, beginning.

12 For *deorum*: see *Gram.* § 58, n. 5. *Deum numen*, properly 'the

secum, hominesque sibi conciliare amiciores, quod iis studere consuessent, quos conservare fidem viderent.

3. Postquam indutiarum praeteriit dies,[1] barbarus,[2] non dubitans, quod ipsius erant plurima domicilia[3] in Caria, et ea regio his temporibus multo putabatur locupletissima, eo potissimum hostes impetum facturos, omnes suas copias eo contraxerat. At Agesilaus in Phrygiam se convertit, eamque prius depopulatus est quam Tissaphernes usquam[4] se moveret. Magna praeda militibus locupletatis, Ephesum hiematum exercitum reduxit, atque ibi, officinis armorum institutis, magna industria bellum apparavit. Et quo studiosius armarentur[5] insigniusque ornarentur, praemia proposuit, quibus donarentur,[6] quorum egregia in ea re fuisset industria. Fecit idem in exercitationum generibus,[7] ut, qui ceteris praestitissent, eos magnis afficeret muneribus. His igitur rebus effecit, ut et ornatissimum et exercitatissimum haberet exercitum. Huic cum tempus esset visum copias extrahere[8] ex hibernaculis, vidit, si, quo esset iter facturus, palam pronuntiasset, hostes non credituros, aliasque regiones praesidiis occupaturos, neque dubitaturos aliud esse facturum ac pronuntiasset. Itaque, cum ille Sardes iturum se dixisset, Tissaphernes eandem Cariam[9] defendendam putavit. In quo cum eum opinio fefellisset, victumque se vidisset consilio, sero[10] suis

power of the gods,' is here merely a periphrasis for *deos*. *Facere cum aliquo*, 'to take one's part,' 'be on one's side.'

[1] For *tempus*, as not unfrequently.

[2] That is, the Persian, Tissaphernes. The Greeks considered all foreigners as barbarians.

[3] 'Palaces,' 'castles.'

[4] *Usquam* is used of place 'whither,' as well as place 'where.'

[5] The passive here is used in a reflective sense, 'that they might arm themselves, ...' See *Gram.* § 248, n. 2. *Ornari*, 'to fit themselves out,' refers not merely to beauty, but also, as often, to utility, and is more comprehénsive than *armari*, since it includes everything that a soldier requires. Compare *ornatissimum exercitum*, a few lines below.

[6] Supply *ii*. The construction might also have been *quae donarentur iis*: *Gram.* § 295, n. 2.

[7] 'In the various kinds of exercises,' by which a man is trained to be an accomplished soldier.

[8] For *extrahendi*: *Gram.* § 396, n. 3. *Educere* would be a more suitable verb here than *extrahere*.

[9] 'The same Caria' which he had thought it necessary in the preceding year also to defend. See the beginning of the chapter.

[10] 'Too late,' as frequently. Compare *parum*, 'too little.'

praesidio profectus est. Nam cum illo venisset, jam Agesilaus, multis locis expugnatis, magna erat praeda potitus. Laco autem, cum videret hostes equitatu superare, nunquam in campo sui fecit potestatem,[1] et his locis manum conseruit, quibus plus pedestres copiae valerent. Pepulit ergo, quotiescunque congressus est, multo majores adversariorum copias, et sic in Asia versatus est, ut omnium opinione victor duceretur.

4. Hic cum jam animo meditaretur proficisci in Persas, et ipsum regem adoriri, nuntius ei domo venit[2] ephorum missu, bellum Athenienses et Boeotos[3] indixisse Lacedaemoniis; quare venire ne[4] dubitaret. In hoc non minus ejus pietas suspicienda[5] est, quam virtus bellica: qui, cum victori[6] praeesset exercitui, maximamque haberet fiduciam regni Persarum potiundi, tanta modestia dicto audiens fuit[7] jussis absentium magistratuum, ut si privatus in comitio[8] esset Spartae. Cujus exemplum utinam imperatores nostri sequi voluissent![9] Sed illuc redeamus.[10] Agesilaus opulentissimo regno praeposuit bonam existimationem, multoque gloriosius duxit, si institutis

[1] *Facere potestatem sui alicui*, 'to give a person the power of one's self'—that is, generally, 'to let one obtain what he wishes.' Here it means 'to put one's self in the power of the enemy,' 'to engage.' *Superare*, above, means simply 'to be superior,' 'have the superiority.' *His locis*, 'in such places.' *Is* is more commonly used in this sense than *hic*.

[2] In 394 B.C. *Ephorum* for *ephororum*: *Gram.* § 58, n. 5.

[3] The forms *Boeoti* and *Boeotii* are both in use.

[4] *Ne* for *non*, because this is the command *ne dubita* expressed indirectly. *Gram.* § 388, n. 2; *Elem. Gram.* 362, end.

[5] *Suspicio* means 'I look up to, honour, respect,' and very seldom, 'I suspect,' for which the proper verb is the deponent *suspicor*. *Pietas* is here 'patriotism,' 'respect for his country's laws:' see *Conon*, 5, p. 77, n. 2.

[6] *Victor*, properly a substantive, is here joined to *exercitus* as an adjective. This occurs also with other nouns of similar formation, but is, strictly speaking, a poetical usage.

[7] As to this phrase, see *Lysand.* 1, p. 49, n. 5.

[8] *Comitium* was a place in the Roman Forum, where justice was administered. It is here used to designate the ἐφορεῖον, or place where the court of ephori met, at Sparta. This mode of translation is not a good one, as any one may see, if he renders *comitium* into English by 'Court of Common Pleas' or 'Court of Session.'

[9] This is an outburst of patriotic feeling, Nepos being sad and indignant at the overthrow of the republic. He alludes chiefly to Caesar and Antony, both of whom disobeyed the commands of the senate.

[10] 'Let us return to the narrative.' The author has been moralising a little.

patriae paruisset, quam si bello superasset Asiam. Hac igitur mente Hellespontum copias trajecit,[1] tantaque usus est celeritate, ut, quod iter Xerxes anno vertente[2] confecerat, hic transierit triginta diebus. Cum jam haud ita longe abesset a Peloponneso, obsistere ei conati sunt Athenienses et Boeotii, ceterique eorum socii, apud Coroneam;[3] quos omnes gravi proelio vicit. Hujus victoriae vel maxima fuit laus, quod, cum plerique[4] ex fuga se in templum Minervae conjecissent, quaerereturque ab eo, quid his vellet fieri, etsi aliquot vulnera acceperat eo proelio, et iratus videbatur omnibus, qui adversus[5] arma tulerant, tamen antetulit irae religionem, et eos vetuit violari. Neque vero hoc solum in Graecia fecit, ut templa deorum sancta haberet, sed etiam apud barbaros summa religione omnia simulacra arasque conservavit. Itaque praedicabat mirari se[6] non sacrilegorum numero haberi, qui supplicibus eorum[7] nocuissent, aut non gravioribus poenis affici, qui religionem minuerent,[8] quam qui fana spoliarent.

5. Post hoc proelium collatum omne bellum est circa Corinthum, ideoque Corinthium est appellatum.[9] Hic cum una pugna decem milia hostium, Agesilao duce,[10] cecidissent, eoque facto opes adversariorum debilitatae viderentur, tantum afuit ab insolentia gloriae,[11] ut commiseratus sit

[1] As to the construction of *trajicere* and similar verbs, see *Gram.* § 251; *Elem. Gram.* 268.

[2] 'While the year was turning'—that is, 'during the revolution of a whole year,' 'in a whole year.' As to *verto* used intransitively, compare *Datam.* 4, p. 104, n. 10. In this statement Nepos is inconsistent with himself, for in *Themist.* 5, he says that the journey of Xerxes into Europe occupied only six months.

[3] A town in Boeotia, south-west of Lake Copais.

[4] 'Very many.' See *Praefatio*, p. 1, n. 2. This is scarcely a suitable word here, for, as we are informed by Xenophon, the number was only about eighty.

[5] Used adverbially, as *contra* often is.

[6] *Se* is subject to *mirari.* To *haberi* supply *eos.*

[7] *Eorum* is neuter, and refers to *simulacra arasque.*

[8] Strictly *minuissent* and *spoliassent.* Perhaps Nepos chose the imperfect, to avoid the hissing and unpleasant sound of *nocuissent—minuissent.*

[9] The Corinthian war continued till 387 B.C.

[10] Nepos is in error here. Agesilaus was not present at the battle of Corinth, but heard of it at Amphipolis in Macedonia, when on his return from Asia. It seems probable, too, that the number of slain here stated is considerably too large.

[11] That is, *ab insolenti gloria*, 'from arrogant boasting.'

fortunam Graeciae, quod tam multi a se victi vitio adversariorum concidissent: namque illa multitudine,[1] si sana mens esset Graeciae, supplicium Persas dare potuisse. Idem cum adversarios intra moenia compulisset, et, ut Corinthum oppugnaret, multi hortarentur, negavit id suae virtuti convenire: se enim eum[2] esse dixit, qui ad officium peccantes redire cogeret, non qui urbes nobilissimas expugnaret Graeciae. 'Nam si,' inquit, 'eos extinguere voluerimus, qui nobiscum adversus barbaros steterunt, nosmet ipsi nos expugnaverimus, illis quiescentibus.[3] Quo facto, sine negotio,[4] cum voluerint, nos oppriment.'

6. Interim[5] accidit illa calamitas apud Leuctra Lacedaemoniis. Quo ne proficisceretur,[6] cum a plerisque ad exeundum premeretur, ut si de exitu divinaret, exire noluit. Idem, cum Epaminondas Spartam oppugnaret,[7] essetque sine muris oppidum, talem se imperatorem praebuit, ut eo tempore omnibus apparuerit, nisi ille fuisset,[8] Spartam futuram non fuisse. In quo quidem discrimine celeritas ejus consilii saluti fuit universis. Nam cum quidam adolescentuli, hostium adventu perterriti, ad Thebanos transfugere vellent, et locum extra urbem editum cepissent, Agesilaus, qui perniciosissimum fore videret,[9] si animadversum esset quemquam ad hostes transfugere conari, cum suis eo venit, atque, ut si bono animo fecissent, laudavit consilium eorum, quod eum locum

1 An ablative absolute, 'the number (of Greeks who met to fight against one another) having been so great,' 'there having been such a multitude:' *Gram.* § 405, n. 2. *Supplicium dare*, like *poenas dare*, means 'to give satisfaction'—that is, 'to suffer punishment.' The expression *supplicium Persas dare potuisse* is not very logical: *Graecos supplicium de Persis sumere potuisse* would be better.

2 That is, *talem*, 'of such a character.'

3 'While they (the Persians) are at rest, gaining strength.'

4 'Without difficulty,' a sense which the word has pretty frequently.

5 *Interim* here must be taken in a very wide sense, for the battle of Leuctra (as to which see *Epam.* 5, p. 117, n. 10) took place in 371 B.C., twenty-three years after the battle of Corinth. *Illa*, 'that well-known,' as very frequently.

6 'That he might not go to this battle, ... he refused to leave the city at all.' *Proficisci* has here a special reference, whereas *exire* is general. For *exitu*, *eventu* would have been better, the accumulation of *exeundum*, *exitu*, *exire*, being inelegant.

7 In 369 B.C. Compare *Epam.* 8.

8 As to this expression, see *Conon*, 2, p. 74, n. 10. The use of *esse* in the two clauses (*fuisset—futuram non fuisse*) is strong and eloquent.

9 As to this subjunctive, see *Gram.* § 360, 6; Elem. Gram. 360, 6.

occupassent, et se[1] id quoque fieri debere animadvertisse. Sic adolescentulos simulata laudatione recuperavit,[2] et, adjunctis de suis comitibus,[3] locum tutum reliquit. Namque illi, aucto numero eorum[4] qui expertes erant consilii, commovere se non sunt ausi, eoque libentius,[5] quod latere arbitrabantur, quae cogitaverant.

7. Sine dubio post Leuctricam pugnam Lacedaemonii se nunquam refecerunt, neque pristinum imperium recuperarunt, cum[6] interim Agesilaus non destitit, quibuscunque rebus posset, patriam juvare. Nam cum praecipue Lacedaemonii indigerent pecunia, ille omnibus qui a rege[7] defecerant praesidio fuit; a quibus magna donatus pecunia patriam sublevavit. Atque in hoc[8] illud in primis fuit admirabile, cum maxima munera ei ab regibus ac dynastis[9] civitatibusque conferrentur, quod nihil unquam domum suam contulit, nihil de victu, nihil de vestitu Laconum mutavit. Domo eadem fuit contentus, qua Eurysthenes,[10] progenitor majorum

1 To govern *se animadvertisse* take *dixit* out of *laudavit. Quoque* belongs to *se*, and therefore, according to the rule, should stand immediately after it. However, we sometimes find an unemphatic word put between.

2 See *Pelop.* 5, p. 127, n. 2. The second meaning there mentioned is that required in this passage.

3 The order is *comitibus adjunctis de suis.*

4 Nepos evidently intends to say: 'for they (the young men), when there were added to their number some not acquainted with their design, did not venture to make any treasonable movement.' But by a slip he says this instead: 'for they, the number of those who were unacquainted with their design being increased, did not venture,' which is nonsense; for, before Agesilaus came, all those who were in possession of the hill were implicated in the scheme to desert.

5 *Eo libentius* cannot be connected with *non sunt ausi*, but out of it we must take the general idea, 'they gave up the scheme.'

6 *Cum* here indicates purely time, 'whilst,' as we see from the use of the indicative *destitit.* The subjunctive *desisteret*, with *cum* in the sense of 'although,' would perhaps have been more natural.

7 That is, *the* king—the king of Persia.

8 Either 'in this man,' or 'in this matter'—namely, the receiving of money from states which he aided in war.

9 As to this title, see *Datam.* 2, p. 102, n. 5.

10 As to Eurysthenes, see chapter 1. Agesilaus was a descendant not of Eurysthenes, but of Procles. The statement that Agesilaus occupied the same house as Eurysthenes seems absurd, and the blunder was probably occasioned by a misunderstanding of a passage in Xenophon, in which, as a proof of the economical character of Agesilaus, he says that any person, looking at the doors of his house, *might well imagine* them to have been set up by Aristodemus, the

suorum, fuerat usus; quam qui intrarat, nullum signum libidinis, nullum luxuriae videre poterat, contra ea plurima patientiae atque abstinentiae: sic enim instructa,[1] ut in nulla re differret a[2] cujusvis inopis atque privati.

8. Atque hic tantus vir, ut naturam fautricem habuerat in tribuendis animi virtutibus, sic maleficam nactus est in corpore fingendo. Nam et statura fuit humili et corpore exiguo,[3] et claudus altero pede. Quae res etiam nonnullam afferebat deformitatem, atque ignoti,[4] faciem ejus cum intuerentur, contemnebant; qui autem virtutes noverant, non poterant admirari satis. Quod[5] ei usu venit, cum annorum octoginta[6] subsidio Tacho in Aegyptum isset, et in acta cum suis accubuisset sine ullo tecto, stratumque haberet tale, ut[7] terra tecta esset stramentis, neque huc[8] amplius quam pellis esset injecta, eodemque comites omnes accubuissent,[9] vestitu humili atque obsoleto, ut eorum ornatus non modo in his regem neminem significaret, sed homines non beatissimos[10] suspicionem praeberet. Hujus de adventu fama cum ad regios[11] esset perlata, celeriter munera eo cujusque generis sunt allata. His quaerentibus Agesilaum vix fides facta est, unum esse ex

father of Eurysthenes and Procles. *Progenitor* is properly a poetical word, but is suitable enough here in speaking of a mythical personage.

1 Supply *erat*.

2 *Domo* is understood, governed by *a*, and governing *cujusvis inopis atque privati*.

3 *Exiguo corpore* might mean 'little,' but as this has been already expressed by *humili statura*, we must take it in the sense of 'thin,' 'lank,' 'meagre.'

4 'Persons unacquainted with him.' *Ignotus* has properly a passive signification, 'unknown,' but sometimes, as here, we find it used actively.

5 Namely, his being despised by those who did not know him.

6 Supply *vir*, 'being a man of eighty.' As to this expedition of Agesilaus, compare *Chab.* 2. It took place in 361 B.C.

7 *Tale ut* is used here somewhat peculiarly. It is not 'of such a kind that' something happened, but 'such (so mean) that the ground was covered with straw.' This is not a result of the nature of the couch, but an explanation of what it was. The king's bed was merely some straw thrown down on the ground.

8 That is, 'upon this (straw.')

9 Nepos forgets that he has already said *cum suis*.

10 Supply *esse*: 'that they were not particularly wealthy men.' *Beatus* is often used in the sense of *dives*, and the force of the superlative with *non* is pretty nearly that given in our translation.

11 'The attendants of the king' of Egypt, Tachus.

his, qui tum accubabant. Qui cum regis verbis[1] quae attulerant dedissent, ille praeter vitulinam et ejusmodi genera obsonii, quae praesens tempus desiderabat, nihil accepit; unguenta, coronas, secundamque mensam[2] servis dispertiit, cetera referri jussit. Quo facto, eum barbari magis etiam contempserunt, quod eum ignorantia bonarum rerum[3] illa potissimum sumpsisse arbitrabantur.

Hic cum ex Aegypto reverteretur, donatus a rege Nectanabide[4] ducentis viginti talentis, quae ille muneri populo suo daret, venissetque in portum, qui Menelai vocatur, jacens[5] inter Cyrenas[6] et Aegyptum, in morbum implicitus, decessit. Ibi eum amici, quo Spartam facilius perferre possent, quod mel non habebant, cera[7] circumfuderunt, atque ita domum retulerunt.

[1] 'In the king's name.' See *Themist.* 4, p. 21, n. 8.

[2] That is, 'the second course,' 'dessert,' 'fruit.'

[3] *Bonae res* here are 'delicacies.'

[4] Nectanabis rebelled against Tachus, and Agesilaus assisted him. See *Chab.* 2, p. 93, n. 6.

[5] Properly *jacentem*, agreeing with *portum*, but it is drawn into the relative clause, and made to agree with *qui*.

[6] Cyrene or Cyrenae, an important Greek city on the north coast of Africa.

[7] Both honey and wax were used by the ancients for embalming, the latter especially by the Persians.

XVIII. EUMENES.

1. Eumenes Cardianus.[1] Hujus si virtuti par data esset fortuna, non ille quidem major, sed multo illustrior atque etiam honoratior,[2] quod magnos homines virtute metimur, non fortuna. Nam cum aetas ejus[3] incidisset in ea tempora, quibus Macedones florerent, multum ei detraxit inter eos viventi, quod alienae erat civitatis, neque aliud huic defuit quam generosa stirps. Etsi[4] ille domestico summo genere erat: tamen Macedones eum sibi aliquando anteponi indigne ferebant, neque tamen[5] non patiebantur; vincebat enim omnes cura, vigilantia, patientia, calliditate et celeritate ingenii.

Hic peradolescentulus[6] ad amicitiam accessit Philippi,[7] Amyntae filii, brevique tempore in intimam pervenit familiaritatem. Fulgebat enim jam in adolescentulo indoles virtutis. Itaque eum habuit ad manum scribae loco, quod

[1] Cardia was a town on the west coast of the Thracian Chersonesus, near its junction with the mainland.

[2] *Fuisset* is omitted, somewhat harshly. *Quod* introduces the reason why *non ille quidem major fuisset*, and should therefore have come in as a parenthesis before *sed multo illustrior, etc.*

[3] 'The time of his life.'

[4] *Etsi* here means 'however,' and introduces a correction of the statement *defuit generosa stirps*. Eumenes was born of parents holding a high position in his native country (for *domestico* is equivalent to *domi*, 'at home'), but the Macedonians looked upon him with contempt. Other authors say, that the father of Eumenes was a man in a low rank of life, but this is not improbably a story invented by the envious Macedonians.

[5] *Tamen—neque tamen* is an extremely awkward mode of expression. *Neque tamen non*—that is, 'and yet.' The Macedonians did not submit with a very good grace to have Eumenes sometimes put before them, but yet they did bear it, for, &c.

[6] 'When a very young man.' He was twenty, as we learn from chapter 13.

[7] Philip reigned over Macedonia from 359 to 336 B.C.

multo apud Graios honorificentius est quam apud Romanos. Namque apud nos, re vera sicut sunt, mercenarii scribae existimantur; at apud illos e contrario nemo ad id officium admittitur, nisi honesto loco,[1] et fide et industria cognita, quod necesse est omnium consiliorum eum esse participem. Hunc locum tenuit amicitiae apud Philippum annos septem. Illo interfecto, eodem gradu fuit apud Alexandrum annos tredecim.[2] Novissimo tempore praefuit etiam alterae[3] equitum alae, quae Hetaerice[4] appellabatur. Utrique autem in consilio semper affuit, et omnium rerum habitus est particeps.

2. Alexandro Babylone mortuo,[5] cum regna singulis familiaribus dispartirentur,[6] et summa rerum tradita esset tuenda eidem, cui Alexander moriens anulum suum dederat, Perdiccae: ex quo omnes conjecerant eum regnum ei commisisse, quoad liberi ejus in suam tutelam pervenissent,[7] (aberat[8] enim Craterus et Antipater, qui antecedere[9] hunc videbantur; mortuus[10] erat Hephaestio, quem unum[11] Alexander, quod facile intelligi posset, plurimi fecerat): hoc tem-

[1] 'Of respectable birth,' as often. This refers chiefly to the most important secretaryships, the offices of secretaries of state, one of which Eumenes held.

[2] The thirteenth year was not complete, for Alexander the Great reigned only twelve years and eight months.

[3] The regular dative is *alteri*: *Gram.* § 58, n. 3; *Elem. Gram.* 39, end; but exceptions are occasionally found.

[4] This is the Latin form of the Greek word Ἑταιρική, '(the band) of companions.' The troops which consisted of native Macedonians were called the king's companions.

[5] In the summer of the year 323 B.C.

[6] *Dispertiri* is more common than *dispartiri*.

[7] 'Until his (Alexander's) children should have grown up.' *In tutelam alicujus pervenire* means 'to be placed under the guardianship of a person,' 'to become a person's ward.' Consequently *in tutelam suam pervenire*, 'to be put under one's own guardianship,' 'to become one's own master.'

[8] Strictly *aberant*. But see *Gram.* § 239, *b*, note.

[9] Namely, in favour with the king.

[10] *Et* is omitted, as frequently. Hephaestion, whom Alexander loved like a brother, had died in the end of 325 B.C.

[11] *Unum* merely strengthens the force of *plurimi*, and need not be translated. The subjunctive *posset* is to be accounted for by taking the idea of 'so' out of *plurimi fecerat*, thus, 'whom Alexander had prized most, so much indeed, that his love for him could easily be perceived.' *Gram.* § 360, 3; *Elem. Gram.* 360, 3.

pore[1] data est Eumeni Cappadocia, sive potius dicta.[2] Nam tum in hostium erat potestate. Hunc sibi Perdiccas adjunxerat magno studio, quod in homine fidem et industriam magnam videbat, non dubitans, si eum pellexisset, magno usui fore sibi in iis rebus, quas apparabat. Cogitabat enim, quod fere omnes in magnis imperiis concupiscunt, omnium partes[3] corripere atque complecti. Neque vero hoc ille solus fecit, sed ceteri quoque omnes, qui Alexandri fuerant amici. Primus Leonnatus Macedoniam praeoccupare praedestinavit.[4] Is multis magnisque pollicitationibus persuadere Eumeni studuit, ut Perdiccam desereret ac secum faceret societatem. Cum perducere eum non posset, interficere conatus est; et fecisset, nisi ille clam noctu ex praesidiis ejus effugisset.

3. Interim conflata sunt illa bella, quae ad internecionem post Alexandri mortem gesta sunt, omnesque concurrerunt ad Perdiccam opprimendum. Quem etsi infirmum videbat, quod unus omnibus resistere cogebatur, tamen amicum non deseruit, neque salutis quam fidei fuit cupidior. Praefecerat hunc Perdiccas ei parti Asiae, quae inter Taurum montem jacet atque Hellespontum, et illum unum opposuerat Europaeis adversariis;[5] ipse Aegyptum[6] oppugnatum adversus Ptolemaeum erat profectus. Eumenes cum neque magnas copias neque firmas haberet, quod et inexercitatae et non multo ante erant contractae, adventare autem dicerentur Hellespontumque transisse Antipater et Craterus magno cum exercitu Macedonum, viri cum claritate, tum usu belli praestantes (Macedones vero milites ea tum erant fama,[7] qua

[1] The sum of the sentence is this: *Alexandro Babylone mortuo, data est Eumeni Cappadocia, cet.* But as a considerable number of subsidiary clauses intervene between the first clause and the last, *hoc tempore* is inserted, to repeat, as it were, *Alexandro Babylone mortuo.*

[2] For *addicta*, 'assigned.' This meaning of *dicere* is not very common.

[3] 'Provinces,' 'territories,' 'dominions.'

[4] Nepos is unnecessarily particular: 'resolved before any of the others to seize Macedonia before any of the others.' *Destinavit* alone would be quite sufficient. *Praedestinare* is a word which occurs very rarely in good Latinity.

[5] Namely, Antipater and Cratĕrus, who had the government of Macedonia and Greece.

[6] *Aegyptum* is not an accusative of place 'whither,' but is governed by the supine *oppugnatum.*

[7] *Ea fama* is an ablative of quality, 'of that reputation.' We expect in the relative clause *sunt*, not *feruntur*. *Feruntur* is used in the sense of *efferuntur*, 'are extolled.' Compare *Lysand.* 4, p. 53, n. 4.

nunc Romani feruntur: etenim semper habiti sunt fortissimi, qui summam[1] imperii potirentur), Eumenes[2] intelligebat, si copiae suae cognossent, adversus quos ducerentur, non modo non ituras, sed simul cum nuntio dilapsuras. Itaque hoc ei visum est prudentissimum, ut deviis itineribus milites duceret, in quibus vera audire non possent, et his persuaderet se contra quosdam barbaros proficisci. Itaque tenuit hoc propositum, et prius in aciem exercitum eduxit proeliumque commisit, quam milites sui scirent, cum quibus arma conferrent. Effecit etiam illud locorum praeoccupatione, ut equitatu potius dimicaret, quo plus valebat, quam peditatu, quo erat deterior.[3]

4. Quorum acerrimo concursu cum magnam partem diei esset oppugnatum,[4] cadit[5] Craterus dux et Neoptolemus, qui secundum locum imperii tenebat. Cum hoc[6] concurrit ipse Eumenes. Qui cum inter se complexi in terram ex equis decidissent, ut facile intelligi possent[7] inimica mente contendisse, animoque magis etiam pugnasse quam corpore, non prius distracti sunt, quam alterum anima relinqueret. Ab hoc aliquot plagis Eumenes vulneratur, neque eo magis ex proelio excessit, sed acrius hostes[8] institit. Hic[9] equitibus profligatis, interfecto duce Cratero, multis praeterea et maxime nobilibus captis, pedester exercitus, quod in ea loca erat deductus, ut, invito Eumene, elabi non posset, pacem ab eo

[1] The accusative instead of the ablative after *potior:* see *Gram.* § 300, note.

[2] The sentence begins with *Eumenes cum—haberet*, and therefore there ought to be nothing here but simply *intelligebat;* but as the sentence is somewhat long and involved, so that the reader might forget who is the subject, *Eumenes* is repeated. Compare chapter 2, p. 139, n. 1.

[3] 'Weaker,' 'inferior.' This word indicates not so much that he had fewer infantry, as that those he had were worse, inferior soldiers.

[4] Impersonal, 'fighting had been kept up against (one another.') The verb *oppugnare* is commonly used transitively, but the construction here may be tolerated.

[5] 'Falls'—that is, as usual, 'is killed.' The writer anticipates the ultimate result, for we find from the end of the chapter that Craterus was not killed, but merely mortally wounded. In the same way we find *interfecto* a little below.

[6] That is, 'the latter,' Neoptolĕmus.

[7] *Posse* is here construed personally, like *dici*, *videri*, *cet:* see *Gram.* § 246, note. The singular *posset* might also very well have been used.

[8] As to *instare* with the accusative, see *Epam.* 9, p. 121, n. 4.

[9] *Hic*, properly 'here,' is used in this passage, as not unfrequently, in the sense of 'in these circumstances,' 'hereupon.'

petiit. Quam cum impetrasset, in fide non mansit, et[1] se, simulac potuit, ad Antipatrum recepit. Eumenes Craterum ex acie semivivum elatum recreare studuit; cum id non posset, pro hominis dignitate proque pristina amicitia (namque illo usus erat, Alexandro vivo, familiariter) amplo funere extulit, ossaque in Macedoniam uxori ejus ac liberis remisit.

5. Haec dum apud Hellespontum geruntur, Perdiccas apud Nilum flumen interficitur a Seleuco et Antigono,[2] rerumque summa[3] ad Antipatrum defertur. Hic qui deseruerant,[4] exercitu suffragium ferente, capitis absentes damnantur; in his Eumenes. Hac ille perculsus plaga[5] non succubuit, neque eo secius bellum administravit. Sed exiles res animi magnitudinem, etsi non frangebant, tamen minuebant.[6] Hunc persequens Antigonus, cum[7] omni genere copiarum abundaret, saepe in itineribus vexabatur, neque unquam ad manum[8] accedere licebat, nisi his[9] locis, quibus pauci multis possent resistere. Sed extremo tempore, cum consilio capi non posset, multitudine circumitus est.[10] Hinc tamen, multis suis amissis, se expedivit, et in castellum Phrygiae, quod Nora appellatur, confugit. In quo cum circumsederetur, et vereretur, ne uno loco manens equos militares perderet, quod spatium non esset agitandi,[11] callidum fuit ejus inventum, quemadmodum stans jumentum[12] concalfieri exercerique posset, quo libentius et cibo uteretur, et a corporis motu non

[1] *Et* is here used with the force of *sed*, as often after negative clauses.

[2] In 321 B.C. Nepos mentions Antigonus here by mistake for another general, called Antigenes, spoken of in the beginning of chapter 7. Antigonus was not with the army in Egypt.

[3] That is, the government of the whole empire of Alexander, the regency for Alexander's children. See chapter 2, beginning.

[4] That is, who had declined to submit to the authority of the new regent, thus, as it were, deserting his standard. As to *hic*, see chapter 4, p. 140, n. 9.

[5] 'Although stunned by this blow.'

[6] There is no trace in his proceedings of his having been even in the least degree discouraged by the dangers of his position.

[7] 'Although.' The date is 320 B.C.

[8] 'To close quarters.' Compare the adverb *comminus*, compounded of *con-* and *manus*.

[9] *His* for *iis*—that is, *talibus*. This use occurs several times in Nepos.

[10] He lost the battle by the treachery of one of his officers.

[11] 'For riding them about.'

[12] That is, *equus*. *Jumentum* is very seldom applied to a saddle-horse, but generally to a pack or draught horse. *Concalfieri*, contracted for *concalefieri*.

removeretur. Substringebat caput loro, altius quam ut prioribus pedibus plane terram posset attingere; deinde post[1] verberibus cogebat exsultare et calces remittere.[2] Qui motus non minus sudorem excutiebat, quam si in spatio[3] decurreret. Quo factum est, quod omnibus mirabile est visum, ut aeque[4] jumenta nitida ex castello educeret, cum complures menses in obsidione fuisset, ac si in campestribus ea locis habuisset. In hac conclusione,[5] quotiescunque voluit, apparatum et munitiones Antigoni alias incendit, alias disjecit. Tenuit autem se uno loco, quamdiu hiems fuit, quod castra sub dio habere non poterat. Ver appropinquabat: simulata deditione, dum de conditionibus tractat,[6] praefectis Antigoni imposuit, seque ac suos omnes extraxit incolumes.

6. Ad hunc Olympias, mater quae fuerat[7] Alexandri, cum litteras et nuncios misisset in Asiam consultum, utrum[8] repetitum in Macedoniam veniret (nam tum in Epiro habitabat) et eas[9] res occuparet, huic ille primum suasit, ne se moveret, et expectaret, quoad Alexandri filius regnum adipisceretur; sin aliqua cupiditate raperetur in Macedoniam, oblivisceretur[10] omnium injuriarum, et in neminem acerbiore uteretur

1 'Behind.'

2 That is, to kick. From Nepos's description of the mode of procedure, we should certainly infer that the poor animals were more likely to die by strangulation than to improve their health by exercise. We are told, however, by another author, that bandages were put about the horses in such a manner as considerably to diminish the strain round the neck.

3 'On a course,' or any open place adapted for riding.

4 *Aeque* is oddly separated from *nitida*, to which it belongs.

5 Literally, 'a shutting up'—that is, here, 'siege,' or 'blockade.' This is the literal, but a rare meaning of the word. Caesar has it once in the same sense.

6 As to *dum* with the present, see *Gram.* § 332, note.

7 The pluperfect, because Alexander was dead. The date of the events related in this chapter is 318 B.C. Observe that *Olympias* belongs to the subordinate clause with *cum*, *ille* being the subject of the principal verb *suasit*.

8 *Utrum* introduces double questions, and the second member is not often omitted. Here, however, it can easily be supplied, thus, *an in Epiro maneret.* The object of *repetitum* is 'it'—namely, Macedonia. *Venire* is used in this passage, as occasionally, in the sense of *ire*, 'to go.'

9 That is, *Macedonicas*, taken out of *in Macedoniam*. *Res Macedonicas occupare* is 'to seize the government of Macedonia.' Olympias was a bold, unscrupulous, ambitious, cruel woman.

10 For the imperative of direct speech: *Gram.* § 388, n. 2; *Elem. Gram.* 362, end.

imperio. Horum illa nihil fecit. Nam et in Macedoniam profecta est,[1] et ibi crudelissime se gessit. Petiit autem ab Eumene absente, ne pateretur Philippi domus[2] ac familiae inimicissimos stirpem quoque interimere, ferretque opem liberis Alexandri. Quam veniam si daret, quam primum exercitus pararet, quos sibi subsidio adduceret. Id quo facilius faceret, se omnibus praefectis, qui in officio manebant,[3] misisse litteras, ut ei parerent ejusque consiliis uterentur. His rebus Eumenes permotus satius duxit, si ita tulisset Fortuna,[4] perire bene meritis referentem gratiam,[5] quam ingratum vivere.

7. Itaque copias contraxit, bellum adversus Antigonum comparavit. Quod una erant Macedones complures nobiles, in his Peucestes, qui corporis custos[6] fuerat Alexandri, tum autem obtinebat Persidem, et Antigenes, cujus sub imperio phalanx erat Macedonum, invidiam verens (quam tamen effugere non potuit), si potius ipse alienigena summi imperii potiretur quam alii Macedonum,[7] quorum ibi erat multitudo,[8] in principiis[9] Alexandri nomine tabernaculum statuit, in eoque sellam auream cum sceptro ac diademate jussit poni, eoque omnes quotidie convenire, ut ibi de summis rebus

[1] Not immediately:—She waited till the following year, 317 B. C.

[2] As to *inimicissimus* with a genitive, see *Gram.* § 267, n. 1. This is not a new letter, but a continuation of the same in which Olympias asks Eumenes whether she should go into Macedonia or not. The statement of its contents has been interrupted by some observations of Nepos.

[3] For *manerent* or *mansissent.* See *Milt.* 3, p. 7, n. 11.

[4] 'If Fortune should have brought him to such a point.'

[5] As to this expression, see *Themist.* 8, p. 28, n. 10.

[6] In the Macedonian army, the highest honour was to be ranked among the king's body-guards (called σωματοφύλακες), of whom the regular number was seven, all generals of distinction. In the case of Peucestes the honour was the more marked, because the number was augmented for him, he being the eighth.

[7] 'Than others of the Macedonians.' This is illogical, Eumenes not being a Macedonian, as has just been mentioned. It should be 'than others, who were Macedonians.' As to the genitive *imperii* after *potiretur*, see *Gram.* § 300, note; *Elem. Gram.* 313.

[8] This is superfluous, after *erant Macedones complures nobiles.*

[9] In the camp of a Roman army, the *principia* was a broad road running across, in front of the *praetorium*, or general's tent. Here the eagles of the legions were planted. The Greek camps were differently arranged, but the term is used in this passage in a general way, for 'an open space in the middle of the camp.'

consilia caperentur, credens minore se invidia fore, si specie imperii nominisque simulatione Alexandri bellum videretur administrari. Quod effecit. Nam cum non ad Eumenis principia sed ad regia conveniretur, atque ibi de rebus deliberaretur, quodammodo latebat,[1] cum tamen per eum unum gererentur omnia.

8. Hic in Paraetacis cum Antigono conflixit,[2] non acie instructa sed in itinere, eumque male acceptum[3] in Mediam hiematum coëgit redire. Ipse in finitima regione Persidis hiematum copias divisit, non ut voluit, sed ut militum cogebat voluntas. Namque illa phalanx Alexandri Magni, quae Asiam peragrarat deviceratque Persas, inveterata cum gloria, tum etiam licentia non parere se ducibus sed imperare postulabat,[4] ut nunc veterani faciunt nostri.[5] Itaque periculum est ne faciant, quod illi fecerunt, sua intemperantia nimiaque licentia ut omnia perdant, neque minus eos cum quibus steterint, quam adversus quos fecerint. Quod si quis illorum veteranorum legat facta, paria horum cognoscat, neque rem ullam nisi tempus interesse judicet. Sed ad illos revertar. Hiberna sumpserant non ad usum belli, sed ad ipsorum luxuriam, longeque inter se discesserant. Hoc Antigonus cum comperisset, intelligeretque[6] se parem non esse paratis adversariis, statuit aliquid sibi consilii novi esse capiendum. Duae erant viae, qua[7] ex Medis, ubi ille hiemabat, ad adversariorum hibernacula posset perveniri. Quarum brevior per loca deserta, quae nemo incolebat propter aquae inopiam, ceterum dierum erat fere decem; illa autem, qua omnes commeabant, altero tanto[8] longiorem habebat anfractum,

1 'He (Eumenes) lay in a measure concealed;' the fact of his being commander-in-chief was not so obvious.

2 The date is 317 B.C.

3 'Ill received,' a somewhat playful expression for 'defeated.'

4 This verb is suitable to *imperare*, the infinitive which stands nearest it, but not to *parere ducibus*. For the latter, we must supply out of *postulabat* the general idea of *volebat*.

5 This refers to the mutinies of the Roman veterans against Julius Caesar, Octavianus, and others.

6 Observe the variation of tense: he had discovered, and did understand or know. The former was past, the latter a continued state.

7 As to this construction, see *Milt.* 3, p. 7, n. 2.

8 'Longer by another as much'—that is, 'as long again,' or 'twice as long.' *Tantum* is here used substantively.

sed erat copiosa[1] omniumque rerum abundans. Hac si proficisceretur, intelligebat prius adversarios rescituros de suo adventu, quam ipse tertiam partem confecisset itineris; sin per loca sola[2] contenderet, sperabat se imprudentem hostem oppressurum. Ad hanc rem conficiendam imperavit quam plurimos utres atque etiam culleos[3] comparari, post haec pabulum, praeterea cibaria cocta dierum decem, ut quam minime fieret ignis in castris. Iter quo habeat,[4] omnes celat. Sic paratus, qua constituerat, proficiscitur.

9. Dimidium fere spatium confecerat, cum ex fumo castrorum[5] ejus suspicio allata est ad Eumenem, hostem appropinquare. Conveniunt duces; quaeritur, quid opus sit facto. Intelligebant omnes tam celeriter copias ipsorum contrahi non posse, quam Antigonus affuturus videbatur. Hic, omnibus titubantibus et de rebus summis desperantibus, Eumenes ait, si celeritatem velint adhibere et imperata facere, quod ante non fecerint, se rem expediturum. Nam, quod diebus quinque hostis transisse posset,[6] se effecturum, ut non minus totidem dierum spatio[7] retardaretur. Quare circumirent, suas quisque contraheret copias. Ad Antigoni autem refrenandum impetum tale[8] capit consilium. Certos mittit homines ad infimos montes, qui obvii erant itineri adversariorum,[9]

[1] If we are unwilling to consider *copiosa* and *omnium rerum abundans* as meaning the same thing, we must take *copiosa* in the sense of 'spacious,' 'open.'

[2] 'Lonely,' 'solitary,' as not unfrequently.

[3] *Cullei* were very large leathern bags, commonly used for holding wine or oil, not water. Hence *atque etiam:* by ordering even *cullei* to be filled with water, Antigonus shewed how anxious he was that the army should be well provided.

[4] *Iter habere*, 'to journey,' is not an uncommon expression. As to the construction of *celare*, see *Gram.* § 254, 1; *Elem. Gram.* 273, 1.

[5] Notwithstanding the general's orders, some of the soldiers lighted fires, to defend themselves against the cold; hence the discovery. *Suspicio allata est*, by some of the few inhabitants of the district.

[6] *Quod—posset.* This is a brief mode of speaking, for *quod pertineret ad id, quod—posset*, 'so far as the fact that the enemy could pass over the remaining distance in five days was concerned.' *Transisse*, because in reality the clause is conditional, 'could have passed'—namely, if nothing were done to retard his progress.

[7] 'Not less than a space of as many days (more.')

[8] 'The following,' nearly equivalent to *hoc* or *illud.* See *Themist.* 2, p. 19, n. 5.

[9] 'To the foot of the hills which lay in the way of the enemies' march.' According to other historians, Eumenes himself, along with his officers, went to superintend the execution of the stratagem.

hisque praecipit, ut prima nocte,[1] quam latissime possint, ignes faciant quam maximos, atque hos secunda vigilia minuant, tertia perexiguos reddant, et, assimulata castrorum consuetudine, suspicionem injiciant hostibus, his locis esse castra, ac de eorum adventu esse praenunciatum; idemque postera nocte faciant. Quibus imperatum erat, diligenter praeceptum curant. Antigonus, tenebris obortis, ignes conspicatur; credit de suo adventu esse auditum, et adversarios illuc suas contraxisse copias. Mutat consilium, et, quoniam imprudentem[2] adoriri non posset, flectit iter suum, et illum anfractum longiorem copiosae viae capit, ibique diem unum opperitur ad lassitudinem sedandam militum ac reficienda jumenta, quo integriore exercitu decerneret.

10. Hic[3] Eumenes callidum imperatorem vicit consilio, celeritatemque impedivit ejus,[4] neque tamen multum profecit. Nam invidia ducum, cum quibus erat, perfidiaque Macedonum veteranorum, cum superior proelio discessisset, Antigono est deditus,[5] cum exercitus ei ter ante, separatis temporibus, jurasset se eum defensurum, neque unquam deserturum. Sed tanta fuit nonnullorum virtutis[6] obtrectatio, ut fidem amittere mallent quam eum non perdere. Atque hunc Antigonus, cum[7] ei fuisset infestissimus, conservasset, si per suos esset licitum, quod ab nullo se plus adjuvari posse intelligebat in iis rebus, quas impendere jam apparebat omnibus. Imminebant enim Seleucus, Lysimachus, Ptolemaeus,[8] opibus jam

[1] This is opposed not to *postera nocte*, but to *secunda* and *tertia vigilia*. It means, therefore, 'in the first part of the night,' on the same principle on which *infimus mons* is the 'lowest part, or foot, of a mountain.' The night was divided by the Greeks into three watches, and by the Romans into four.

[2] Referring to Eumenes. *Imprudentes* might have been used, referring to *adversarios*, which is much nearer. *Posset:* the subjunctive shews that this was the reason which Antigonus gave his officers, and is not merely a statement of Nepos: *Gram.* § 354; *Elem. Gram.* 353.

[3] The adverb, 'here,' 'in this case.'

[4] A somewhat singular position of this unemphatic pronoun.

[5] This was in the winter of 317–316 B.C. The baggage of the Macedonian troops had fallen into the hands of Antigonus, and they basely agreed to purchase its restoration by the surrender of their noble leader.

[6] *Obtrectatio* governs both *nonnullorum* and *virtutis*, the former being a subjective, the latter an objective genitive. See *Gram.* § 273, and § 276, n. 4; *Elem. Gram.* 292.

[7] 'Although,' as the context shews.

[8] All formerly generals of Alexander. Seleucus had now the government of Babylonia, Lysimachus, of Thrace, and Ptolemy, of Egypt.

valentes, cum quibus ei de summis rebus erat dimicandum. Sed non passi sunt ii qui circa erant, quod videbant, Eumene recepto, omnes prae illo parvi futuros. Ipse autem Antigonus adeo erat incensus,[1] ut nisi magna spe maximarum rerum leniri non posset.

11. Itaque cum eum in custodiam dedisset, et praefectus custodum quaesisset, quemadmodum servari vellet, 'Ut acerrimum,' inquit, 'leonem aut ferocissimum elephantum.' Nondum enim statuerat, conservaret[2] eum, necne. Veniebat autem ad Eumenem utrumque genus hominum, et qui propter odium fructum oculis ex ejus casu capere[3] vellent, et qui propter veterem amicitiam colloqui consolarique cuperent; multi etiam, qui ejus formam cognoscere studebant, qualis esset, quem tam diu tamque valde timuissent, cujus in pernicie positam spem habuissent victoriae. At Eumenes, cum diutius[4] in vinclis esset, ait Onomarcho, penes quem summa imperii erat custodiae, se mirari, quare jam tertium diem sic teneretur: non enim hoc convenire Antigoni prudentiae, ut sic deuteretur victo, quin aut interfici aut missum fieri juberet.[5] Hic cum ferocius[6] Onomarcho loqui videretur, 'Quid? tu,' inquit, 'animo si isto eras, cur non in proelio cecidisti, potius quam in potestatem inimici venires?' Huic Eumenes, 'Utinam quidem istud evenisset! sed eo non accidit, quod nunquam cum fortiore sum congressus. Non enim cum quoquam arma contuli, quin is mihi succubuerit; non enim[7] virtute hostium sed amicorum perfidia decidi.'[8] Neque

[1] 'Enraged.' The use of the word by itself, without *ira*, in this sense, is somewhat poetical.

[2] *Utrum* is omitted, as frequently.

[3] *Fructum oculis capere*, 'to obtain fruit, gratification, by their eyes,' or 'for their eyes,' since we may consider *oculis* either as dative or ablative. *Oculos pascere*, 'to feast one's eyes,' is the more common expression.

[4] 'Longer' than he thought right, 'rather long.'

[5] 'That he should so abuse a conquered foe as not to order him either to be put to death or set at liberty.' *Deuti* is a compound which does not occur elsewhere. *Missum facere*, literally, 'to make sent away'—that is, 'to abandon,' 'dismiss,' or 'set free'—is an expression of frequent occurrence.

[6] 'Too boldly, independently, freely.' See *Themist.* 2, p. 17, n. 9.

[7] This use of *non enim* in two consecutive clauses is very awkward.

[8] 'I have fallen'—namely, from my power and freedom. This absolute use of the verb, without the mention of place whence or whither, is very rare.

id falsum.[1] . . . . Nam et dignitate fuit[2] honesta, et viribus ad laborem ferendum firmis, neque tam magno corpore quam figura venusta.

12. De hoc Antigonus cum solus constituere non auderet, ad consilium retulit. Hic cum omnes primo[3] perturbati admirarentur non jam de eo sumptum esse supplicium, a quo tot annos adeo essent male habiti,[4] ut saepe ad desperationem forent[5] adducti, quique maximos duces interfecisset, denique in quo uno esset tantum, ut, quoad ille viveret, ipsi securi esse non possent, interfecto, nihil habituri negotii essent; postremo, si illi redderet[6] salutem, quaerebant quibus amicis esset usurus: sese enim cum Eumene apud eum non futuros. Hic, cognita consilii voluntate, tamen usque ad septimum diem deliberandi sibi spatium reliquit. Tum autem, cum jam vereretur, ne qua seditio exercitus oriretur, vetuit quemquam ad eum[7] admitti, et quotidianum victum removeri jussit. Nam negabat se ei vim allaturum, qui aliquando fuisset amicus. Hic tamen, non amplius quam triduum fame fatigatus, cum castra moverentur, insciente Antigono, jugulatus est a custodibus.

13. Sic Eumenes annorum quinque et quadraginta,[8] cum

[1] There is here a break, which must be filled up somewhat in this manner: 'for he had often in battle engaged in close combat with gallant warriors, and had always come off victorious. His personal appearance made this more remarkable, for . . . .'

[2] The meaning of the sentence will be best brought out by inserting an 'indeed' in the first clause. *Neque* is 'but not,' as often.

[3] The first part of the sentence, under *cum—admirarentur*, extends to *negotii essent*, when *postremo* comes in, corresponding to *primo*, and introducing the apodosis. *Admiror* is used here, as often, merely as a strengthened *miror*, 'I wonder greatly.'

[4] *Aliquem bene*, or *male habere*, is 'to treat a person well,' or 'ill.'

[5] For *essent*: *Gram.* § 137, n. 4; *Elem. Gram.* 132, end of note on *sum*. *Maximos duces*—namely, Craterus and Neoptolemus: see chapter 4.

[6] 'Restored,' because Antigonus had, as it were, the life of Eumenes in his hands, and could keep it or restore it, as he pleased. *Interfecto*, above, is an ablative absolute, to which *eo* (*Eumene*) is understood, and which stands in antithesis to *quoad ille viveret*, being equivalent to *si interfectus esset*.

[7] Namely, Eumenes.

[8] *Vir* is understood. In regard to the numbers given in this sentence, we must remember that Nepos reckons parts of years as whole: compare chapter 1, p. 138, n. 2. Otherwise we have twenty years, seven, thirteen, and six (the length of time that Eumenes survived Alexander), in all forty-six, thus making him a year older than Nepos tells us he was. *Uti supra ostendimus*: if this refers to *ab anno vicesimo*,

ab anno vicesimo, uti supra ostendimus, septem annos Philippo apparuisset,[1] tredecim apud Alexandrum eundem locum obtinuisset, in his unum[2] equitum alae praefuisset, post autem Alexandri Magni mortem imperator exercitus duxisset, summosque duces partim repulisset, partim interfecisset, captus non Antigoni virtute sed Macedonum perjurio, talem[3] habuit exitum vitae. In quo[4] quanta omnium fuerit opinio eorum, qui post Alexandrum Magnum reges sunt appellati, ex hoc facillime potest judicari, quod nemo, Eumene vivo, rex appellatus est, sed praefectus, iidem post hujus occasum statim regium ornatum nomenque sumpserunt,[5] neque, quod initio praedicarant, se Alexandri liberis regnum servare, praestare voluerunt, et, uno propugnatore sublato, quid sentirent aperuerunt. Hujus sceleris[6] principes fuerunt Antigonus, Ptolemaeus, Seleucus, Lysimachus, Cassander. Antigonus autem Eumenem mortuum propinquis ejus sepeliendum tradidit. Hi militari honestoque funere, comitante toto exercitu, humaverunt,[7] ossaque ejus in Cappadociam ad matrem atque uxorem liberosque ejus deportanda curarunt.

which is the natural connection, then the author is wrong, for he has merely stated generally (chapter 1) that Eumenes was a *peradolescentulus* when he entered Philip's service. *Uti supra ostendimus*, however, may be connected with what follows, *septem annos*, in which case it is correct. See chapter 1, near the end.

1 'Had attended upon'—that is, had been secretary to. The verb not unfrequently has this signification, and hence the name of those public functionaries called *apparitores*.

2 That is, *in his annis unum annum*. This agrees with what is stated in chapter 1, end: *novissimo tempore, cet.*

3 The sentence begins with *sic*, and therefore *talem* is unnecessary; but many words have intervened.

4 'In the case of whom,' 'in regard to whom.'

5 This is an error. Antigonus and the others did not assume the name of king till a considerable number of years later, after the children of Alexander had been murdered. The death of Eumenes had no influence upon their taking this step.

6 Namely, the throwing off allegiance to Alexander's sons.

7 The body of Eumenes was burned; then the ashes, as usual, were interred, and the bones, which resisted the flames, were sent to his mother. *Comitante toto exercitu:* this, considering the hatred that the great majority of the soldiers bore to Eumenes, is very improbable.

XIX. PHOCION.

1. PHOCION Atheniensis.[1] Etsi saepe exercitibus praefuit, summosque magistratus cepit, tamen multo ejus notior integritas vitae[2] quam rei militaris labor. Itaque hujus memoria est nulla,[3] illius autem magna fama, ex quo[4] cognomine Bonus[5] est appellatus. Fuit enim perpetuo pauper, cum divitissimus esse posset propter frequentes delatos honores, potestatesque summas, quae ei a populo dabantur. Hic cum a rege Philippo munera[6] magnae pecuniae repudiaret, legatique hortarentur accipere,[7] simulque admonerent, si[8] ipse his facile careret, liberis tamen suis prospiceret, quibus difficile esset in summa paupertate tantam paternam tueri gloriam; his ille 'Si mei similes erunt, idem hic,' inquit, 'agellus illos alet, qui me ad hanc dignitatem perduxit; sin dissimiles sunt futuri, nolo meis impensis illorum ali augerique luxuriam.'

2. Idem cum prope ad annum octogesimum prospera

[1] Born probably in 402 B.C.

[2] This refers to his private life. We shall find in the following chapters evidence that *integritas* did not always distinguish his public proceedings.

[3] *Nulla memoria* is properly 'no remembrance,' but this is merely a natural hyperbolical expression for 'comparatively little,' little compared with the *magna fama integritatis*.

[4] 'In consequence of which (fact.') *Quo* is neuter, and refers to the general idea of the preceding clause—namely, 'Phocion's integrity was his most distinguishing characteristic.' *Gram.* § 232, 2; *Elem. Gram.* 252, near the end.

[5] In Greek ὁ χρηστός.

[6] 'Presents from King Philip'—namely, *missa*, 'sent.' *Magna pecunia* for *multa pecunia* is common. In the older English, too, the expression 'large money' was in use.

[7] Strictly, *ut acciperet*. The infinitive after *hortor* is poetical.

[8] *Si* is equivalent to *etsi*, 'even if,' 'although.' Hence *tamen* follows. *Admonerent—prospiceret: ut* is omitted: *Gram.* § 352, n. 1.

pervenisset[1] fortuna, extremis temporibus magnum in odium pervenit suorum civium, primo quod[2] cum Demade de urbe tradenda Antipatro consenserat, ejusque consilio Demosthenes cum ceteris, qui bene de republica meriti existimabantur, populiscito in exilium erant expulsi. Neque in eo solum offenderat, quod patriae male consuluerat, sed etiam quod amicitiae fidem non praestiterat. Namque auctus adjutusque a Demosthene[3] eum, quem tenebat, ascenderat gradum, cum adversus Charetem eum subornaret;[4] ab eodem in judiciis, cum capitis causam diceret, defensus aliquoties liberatus discesserat. Hunc non solum in periculis non defendit, sed etiam prodidit. Concidit autem maxime uno crimine, quod, cum apud eum[5] summum esset imperium populi, et Nicanorem, Cassandri praefectum,[6] insidiari Piraeeo Atheniensium

[1] *Cum—pervenisset, pervenit.* Awkward repetitions of the same word occur often in Nepos. *Prospera fortuna*, 'with prosperous fortune,' 'with the favour of fortune.'

[2] After *primo quod*, we expect *deinde* or *postea quod;* but the second cause of hatred is introduced at *Concidit autem* in a distinct sentence. Demades was an Athenian orator of great ability but no principle. In 322 B.C. Antipater, the regent of Macedonia, defeated the confederate Greeks at Cranon, in Thessaly, and Demades, Phocion, and some others, were sent by the Athenians to treat with the conqueror. They agreed among other things, not, as Nepos says, to surrender the city, but to receive a Macedonian garrison into the port of Munychia, a condition which Phocion strove, but in vain, to induce Antipater to dispense with. Hereupon Demosthenes (the greatest orator and one of the noblest men of antiquity), and the other leaders of the anti-Macedonian party in Athens, took to flight, and upon the proposal of Demades, the people sentenced them to death. From this sketch one or two errors in Nepos's statement may be perceived.

[3] These words are emphatic, as their position shews: 'it was by the support and aid of Demosthenes that he had mounted to that position which he occupied.' *Augere aliquem* is 'to promote a person, obtain for him honour and influence.'

[4] The subject of *subornaret* is Demosthenes, and *eum* refers to Phocion. This change of the subject is awkward, but there are other instances of the same kind in Nepos. As to Chares, see *Chabrias*, 3, p. 94, n. 7. *Subornare* is strictly 'to furnish secretly,' a force which *sub* sometimes has in composition. Here we must understand the meaning to be, that Demosthenes privately lent his influence in favour of Phocion, when opposing the proceedings of Chares. Nepos's statements here are improbable. Phocion was considerably older than Demosthenes, and had acquired some reputation before the latter entered public life. Moreover, Demosthenes and Chares, instead of being enemies, were politically allied, notwithstanding the contrast in their characters.

[5] Properly, *penes eum.* The date is 317 B.C.

[6] Cassander, son of Antipater, succeeded to the government of

a Dercylo[1] moneretur, idemque postularet, ut provideret, ne commeatibus civitas privaretur, huic, audiente populo, Phocion negavit esse periculum, seque ejus rei obsidem fore pollicitus est. Neque ita multo post Nicanor Piraeeo est potitus. Ad quem recuperandum cum populus armatus concurrisset, ille non modo neminem ad arma vocavit, sed ne armatis quidem praeesse voluit. Sine quo[2] Athenae omnino esse non possunt.

3. Erant eo tempore Athenis duae factiones, quarum una populi causam agebat, altera optimatium. In hac erat Phocion et Demetrius Phalereus.[3] Harum utraque Macedonum patrociniis nitebatur. Nam populares Polysperchonti[4] favebant, optimates cum Cassandro sentiebant. Interim a Polysperchonte Cassander Macedonia pulsus est. Quo facto populus superior factus statim duces adversariae factionis, capitis damnatos,[5] patria propulit, in his Phocionem et Demetrium Phalereum, deque ea re legatos ad Polysperchontem misit, qui ab eo peterent, ut sua[6] decreta confirmaret. Huc eodem profectus est Phocion. Quo ut venit, causam apud Philippum regem verbo, re ipsa quidem apud Polysperchontem[7] jussus est dicere. Namque is tum regis rebus

Macedonia on the death of his father, in 319 B.C., and immediately sent Nicanor to take the command of the garrison which occupied Munychia.

[1] A politician of some distinction.

[2] Namely, *Piraeeo.* The connection is awkward, and the observation, though perhaps natural enough, comes in so quaintly as to produce something of a ludicrous effect.

[3] As to this statesman, see *Milt.* 6, p. 12, n. 6. *Erat* for *erant: Gram.* § 239, *b*, note.

[4] Polysperchon, who had been one of Alexander's generals, was appointed by Antipater, when on his death-bed, regent of the empire and guardian of the king (Philip Arrhidaeus), in his room.

[5] *Causa capitis* generally means 'a case involving capital punishment,' but also sometimes 'a case involving banishment.' The expression *capitis damnatos* here includes persons condemned, some to death, others to exile. *Patria propulit* is to be explained thus: those who were condemned to exile, left the city in pursuance of their sentence; and those doomed to death fled, to escape the punishment. *Facto—factus—factionis:* this repetition of the same sound is extremely disagreeable.

[6] That is, *populi*, *populus* being the main subject of the sentence.

[7] 'In word (nominally) before King Philip, in reality before Polysperchon.' Philip Arrhidaeus was an illegitimate son of the great Philip of Macedonia, and was chosen king on the death of Alexander. Being of weak mind, he was a mere tool in the hands of others. He and his wife Eurydice were put to death in 317 B.C., by order of Olympias, his father's cruel widow.

praeerat. Hic ab Agnone[1] accusatus, quod Piraeeum Nicanori prodidisset, ex consilii sententia[2] in custodiam conjectus, Athenas deductus est, ut ibi de eo legibus fieret judicium.

4. Huc ubi perventum est, cum[3] propter aetatem pedibus jam non valeret, vehiculoque portaretur, magni concursus sunt facti; cum alii, reminiscentes veteris famae, aetatis misererentur, plurimi vero ira exacuerentur propter proditionis suspicionem Piraeei, maximeque quod adversus populi commoda in senectute steterat. Qua de re[4] ne perorandi quidem ei data est facultas et dicendi causam[5] in judicio; legitimis quibusdam confectis,[6] damnatus, traditus est undecimviris,[7] quibus ad supplicium more Atheniensium publice damnati[8] tradi solent. Hic cum ad mortem duceretur, obvius ei fuit Euphiletus, quo familiariter fuerat usus. Is cum lacrimans dixisset 'O quam indigna perpeteris, Phocion!' huic ille 'At non inopinata,' inquit, 'hunc enim exitum plerique clari viri habuerunt Athenienses.' In hoc[9] tantum fuit odium multitudinis, ut nemo ausus sit eum liber sepelire. Itaque a servis sepultus est.[10]

[1] A demagogue, called by other writers Agnonides. Compare *Milt.* 4, p. 9, n. 10.

[2] 'In accordance with the judgment of the council.'

[3] *Cum* does not seem to mean 'as' here, but merely 'whilst,' introducing a sort of parenthetical observation. There are too many subordinate clauses in this sentence.

[4] Namely, the *suspicio proditionis Piraeei.*

[5] After *perorandi* this is superfluous.

[6] 'Certain legal formalities having been gone through.'

[7] 'To the Eleven,' a board of commissioners at Athens, who had charge of the police and the punishment of criminals.

[8] That is, persons condemned for offences against the state. Phocion's alleged crime was high treason.

[9] More naturally *in hunc.* See *Dion*, 6, p. 83, n. 9.

[10] It was illegal to bury traitors within the boundaries of Attica: see *Themist.* 10, end. Phocion was therefore interred in the adjoining district of Megaris. Afterwards, when the people repented of their conduct, his bones were taken up, and buried at Athens.

XX. TIMOLEON.

1. TIMOLEON Corinthius. Sine dubio[1] magnus omnium judicio hic vir extitit. Namque huic uni contigit, quod nescio an nulli,[2] ut et patriam, in qua erat natus, oppressam a tyranno liberaret, et a Syracusis, quibus auxilio erat missus, jam inveteratam[3] servitutem depelleret, totamque Siciliam, multos annos bello vexatam a barbarisque[4] oppressam, suo adventu in pristinum restitueret.[5] Sed in his rebus non simplici fortuna[6] conflictatus est, et, id quod difficilius putatur, multo sapientius tulit secundam quam adversam fortunam. Nam cum frater ejus Timophanes, dux a Corinthiis delectus,[7] tyrannidem per milites mercenarios occupasset, particepsque regni posset[8] esse, tantum afuit a societate sceleris, ut antetulerit civium suorum libertatem fratris saluti, et parere

[1] *Sine dubio* belongs to *magnus*, 'undoubtedly great.'

[2] The expression *nescio an*, 'I know not whether,' is here, as very often, used adverbially, with the sense of 'perhaps.' This accounts for the use of *nulli;* for, if we look at the strict meaning of the words, *ulli* should follow. But *nescio an* has so completely assumed the force of a modest *affirmative*, that in cases like this, where the meaning is intended to be negative, a negative follows. *Patriam, in qua erat natus:* this is obviously an absurd tautology. The author treats *patria* as if it were simply equivalent to *terra* or *urbs*.

[3] See *Dion*, 5, p. 82, n. 8.

[4] That is, the Carthaginians, who had settlements in Sicily.

[5] 'Restored to its original condition.' We may either supply *statum*, or, which is better, consider *pristinum* as the neuter used substantively. *In integrum restituere* is similarly used.

[6] *Simplex fortuna* is 'a fate or fortune of one kind,' either constantly good or constantly bad. *Fortuna non simplex* is therefore 'various fortunes,' 'a chequered fate;' and in the use of the verb *conflictari*, the author is obviously thinking particularly of adverse fortune.

[7] For a war against Argos.

[8] The subject is changed, being here Timoleon. We certainly expect *an ipse*.

legibus quam imperare patriae satius duxerit. Hac mente per haruspicem communemque affinem,[1] cui soror ex eisdem parentibus nata nupta erat, fratrem tyrannum interficiundum curavit.[2] Ipse non modo manus non attulit, sed ne aspicere quidem fraternum sanguinem voluit. Nam dum res conficeretur, procul in praesidio fuit, ne quis satelles posset succurrere. Hoc praeclarissimum ejus facinus[3] non pari modo probatum est ab omnibus. Nonnulli enim laesam ab eo pietatem[4] putabant, et invidia laudem virtutis obterebant. Mater vero post id factum neque domum ad se[5] filium admisit, neque aspexit, quin eum fratricidam impiumque detestans compellaret. Quibus rebus ille adeo est commotus, ut nonnunquam vitae finem facere voluerit, atque ex ingratorum hominum conspectu morte decedere.

2. Interim Dione Syracusis interfecto,[6] Dionysius rursus Syracusarum potitus est. Cujus adversarii opem a Corinthiis[7] petierunt, ducemque, quo in bello uterentur, postularunt. Huc Timoleon missus[8] incredibili felicitate Dionysium tota Sicilia depulit. Cum interficere posset, noluit, tutoque ut Corinthum perveniret effecit,[9] quod utrorumque Dionysiorum[10]

[1] The *haruspex* and the *affinis* are different men. *Communis* indicates that the individual was related both to Timophanes and Timoleon, having married their sister. According to another historian, this man was the brother of the wife of Timophanes. Perhaps both statements may be true.

[2] One account places this tyrannicide in 364 B.C., another about twenty years later, shortly before Timoleon was sent to Sicily. The latter seems the more probable.

[3] *Facinus* is 'a deed,' whether good or bad, though it is used more frequently in a bad sense.

[4] *Pietas* is 'dutifulness,' to parents, relatives (here a brother), one's native country, or the gods.

[5] *Ad se* after *domum* appears unnecessary, although no doubt Timoleon might have been admitted to his mother's house, and yet not to her presence. The mother's name was Demariste.

[6] See *Dion*, chapters 9 and 10. Dion was murdered in 353 B.C., and after that event, one tyrant succeeded another in Syracuse with great rapidity, till Dionysius the Younger, who had been expelled in 356 B.C., returned and obtained possession of the city, in 346 B.C. As to the construction of *potior*, see *Gram.* § 300, note; *Elem. Gram.* 313.

[7] Syracuse had been founded by a colony from Corinth, and therefore the latter stood to it in the close relation of *metropolis*, 'mother-city.'

[8] In 344 B.C.

[9] In surrendering the fortress of Ortygia, Dionysius stipulated that he should be allowed to depart in safety to Corinth, and consequently Timoleon could not have put him to death without a breach of faith.

[10] Properly, *utriusque Dionysii*, for, regularly, the singular is used when

opibus Corinthii saepe adjuti fuerant, cujus benignitatis memoriam volebat extare, eamque praeclaram victoriam ducebat, in qua plus esset clementiae quam crudelitatis, postremo,[1] ut non solum auribus acciperetur, sed etiam oculis cerneretur, quem et ex quanto regno ad quam fortunam detulisset.[2] Post Dionysii decessum[3] cum Hiceta bellavit, qui adversatus erat Dionysio; quem non odio tyrannidis dissensisse,[4] sed cupiditate, indicio fuit, quod ipse, expulso Dionysio, imperium dimittere noluit. Hoc superato,[5] Timoleon maximas copias Carthaginiensium apud Crinissum[6] flumen fugavit, ac satis habere coëgit, si liceret Africam obtinere, qui jam complures annos possessionem Siciliae tenebant.[7] Cepit etiam Mamercum,[8] Italicum ducem, hominem bellicosum et potentem, qui tyrannos adjutum in Siciliam venerat.

3. Quibus rebus confectis, cum propter diuturnitatem belli non solum regiones[9] sed etiam urbes desertas videret,

speaking of two individuals, the plural when there are more than one on each side.

1 The author says *postremo*, 'lastly,' as if he had stated Timoleon's arguments in full logical form, thus, *primo, quod—Corinthii—adjuti fuerant, deinde, quod—ducebat.*

2 That is, *quem detulisset, et ex quanto regno ad quam fortunam eum detulisset. Deferre* is here 'to throw down,' 'to overthrow,' rather a poetical use of the word. The *fortuna* which Dionysius experienced in Corinth was certainly bad enough. He appears to have sunk into poverty, and, according to some writers, had to support himself by keeping a school.

3 *Decessum ex Sicilia*, 'departure,' not *decessum e vita*, 'death.' Hicĕtas was tyrant of Leontini, a town in the east of Sicily, to the north of Syracuse. He was in league with the Carthaginians.

4 He had co-operated with those of the Syracusans who were disaffected to the government of Dionysius, but he had done this not from a hatred of his tyranny, but from a desire to step into his place.

5 In 339 B.C., after—not, as Nepos says, before—the victory over the Carthaginians.

6 Otherwise called *Crimissus* or *Crimesus*, a river in the west of Sicily.

7 'Compelled those who had now for some years held possession of Sicily to reckon it enough (to be content) if they were allowed to keep Africa.' The Carthaginians had had possession not of all Sicily, but of a great part of it. They were not now completely driven from the island, as Nepos insinuates, but their dominion was considerably restricted. *Tenebant* should properly be *tenuerant*. The imperfect, however, is explained by developing the full meaning, thus: 'who for several years *had held*, and at the time of this great battle *were holding*.'

8 Tyrant of Catana, a town on the east coast, to the north of Leontini.

9 'The fields,' 'the country.' This use of the word is very rare, *perhaps unique.*

conquisivit quos potuit, primum Siculos; dein Corintho arcessivit colonos, quod ab his[1] initio Syracusae erant conditae. Civibus veteribus sua restituit, novis bello vacuefactas possessiones divisit; urbium moenia disjecta fanaque deserta[2] refecit; civitatibus leges libertatemque reddidit; ex maximo bello tantum otium totae[3] insulae conciliavit, ut hic conditor urbium earum, non illi qui initio deduxerant,[4] videretur. Arcem Syracusis, quam munierat Dionysius[5] ad urbem obsidendam, a fundamentis disjecit; cetera tyrannidis propugnacula demolitus est, deditque operam, ut quam minime multa vestigia servitutis manerent. Cum tantis esset opibus, ut etiam invitis imperare posset, tantum autem amorem haberet omnium Siculorum, ut nullo recusante regnum obtinere,[6] maluit se diligi quam metui. Itaque, cum primum potuit, imperium deposuit, ac privatus Syracusis, quod reliquum vitae fuit, vixit. Neque vero id imperite fecit. Nam, quod ceteri reges[7] imperio potuerunt, hic benevolentia tenuit. Nullus honos huic defuit, neque postea res ulla Syracusis gesta est publice, de qua prius sit decretum quam Timoleontis sententia cognita. Nullius unquam consilium non modo[8] antelatum sed ne comparatum quidem est. Neque id magis benevolentia factum est, quam prudentia.[9]

4. Hic cum aetate jam provectus esset, sine ullo morbo lumina oculorum[10] amisit. Quam calamitatem ita moderate tulit, ut neque eum querentem quisquam audierit, neque eo minus privatis publicisque rebus interfuerit. Veniebat[11] autem

[1] That is, *Corinthiis*, which we take out of *Corintho*. See *Praefatio*, p. 2, n. 9.

[2] Properly, 'deserted,' and hence 'falling into ruins.'

[3] For *toti*: *Gram.* § 58, n. 3; *Elem. Gram.* 39, end. Compare *Eumenes*, 1, p. 138, n. 3.

[4] Those cities were colonies, and *coloniam deducere* is the technical expression for 'to settle a colony.'

[5] The Elder. *Ad urbem obsidendam*, 'to overawe the city.' See *Pelop.* 3, p. 126, n. 1. Nepos is wrong in placing the destruction of the citadel and the colonisation of the city after the wars with Hicetas and the Carthaginians. They were among the very first things to which Timoleon applied himself after obtaining possession of Syracuse.

[6] Repeat *posset*.

[7] 'As kings.' *Benevolentia*, of the people towards him.

[8] Before *ne—quidem*, *non modo* is best rendered by 'not to say,' or 'I shall not say.'

[9] *Benevolentia*, *populi*: *prudentia*, *Timoleontis*.

[10] A somewhat poetical periphrasis for *oculos*, 'his eyes, eyesight.'

[11] 'He used to go.' *Gram.* § 335; *Elem. Gram.* 339.

in theatrum,[1] cum ibi concilium populi haberetur, propter valetudinem[2] vectus jumentis junctis,[3] atque ita de vehiculo quae videbantur[4] dicebat. Neque hoc illi quisquam tribuebat superbiae.[5] Nihil enim unquam neque insolens neque gloriosum ex ore ejus exiit. Qui quidem, cum suas laudes audiret praedicari, nunquam aliud dixit, quam se in ea re maxime diis agere gratias atque habere,[6] quod, cum Siciliam recreare constituissent, tum se potissimum ducem esse voluissent. Nihil enim rerum humanarum sine deorum numine geri putabat. Itaque suae domi sacellum Automatias[7] constituerat, idque sanctissime colebat.

5. Ad hanc hominis excellentem bonitatem mirabiles accesserant casus. Nam proelia maxima natali suo die fecit omnia; quo factum est, ut ejus diem natalem[8] festum haberet universa Sicilia.

Huic quidam Laphystius, homo petulans et ingratus, vadimonium[9] cum vellet imponere, quod cum illo se lege[10] agere diceret, et complures concurrissent, qui procacitatem hominis manibus coërcere conarentur, Timoleon oravit omnes, ne id facerent. Namque id ut Laphystio et cuivis liceret, se maximos labores summaque adisse pericula. Hanc enim speciem libertatis[11] esse, si omnibus, quod quisque vellet, legibus experiri liceret. Idem, cum quidam Laphystii similis,

[1] Among the Greeks, public assemblies were often held in theatres.

[2] *Valetudo* means 'health,' either good or bad. The sense here shews that 'infirm health' is meant.

[3] 'Being conveyed by beasts yoked'—that is, 'riding in a carriage.'

[4] 'The things which seemed good to him,' 'his sentiments.'

[5] As to the construction *hoc illi tribuebat superbiae*, see *Gram.* § 270; *Elem. Gram.* 289.

[6] As to the difference between *gratias agere* and *gratiam habere*, see *Themist.* 8, p. 28, n. 10.

[7] Automatia, 'she who acts according to her own will,' is a surname of Tyche (the Roman Fortuna), as the goddess who aids men in their undertakings. Nepos retains *as*, the Greek termination of the genitive, probably because the name was not generally used in Latin. Compare *Gram.* § 54, n. 2.

[8] The repetition of the expression is awkward.

[9] *Vadimonium* is 'an obligation or recognisance to appear on a certain day personally or by deputy in a court of justice.' *Vadimonium alicui imponere* is to make a person take upon him such an obligation, or, generally, 'to involve a person in a lawsuit.'

[10] 'By a law,' 'according to a law.'

[11] 'His ideal of liberty,' 'the notion of liberty which he had formed in his mind.' This is a philosophical use of the word *species*.

nomine Demaenetus, in concione populi de rebus gestis ejus detrahere coepisset, ac nonnulla inveheretur in Timoleonta, dixit nunc demum se voti esse damnatum:[1] namque hoc a diis immortalibus semper precatum, ut talem libertatem restitueret Syracusanis, in qua cuivis liceret, de quo vellet impune dicere.

Hic cum diem supremum obisset,[2] publice a Syracusanis in gymnasio, quod Timoleonteum appellatur, tota celebrante Sicilia, sepultus est.

[1] 'Was condemned of his vow'—that is, 'was condemned (by honour), bound, to pay his vow.' This happened when a person obtained what he had prayed for, and the expression means therefore generally, 'had obtained his petition.' As to *nonnulla inveheretur*, see *Epam.* 6, p. 118, n. 3.

[2] In 337 B.C., seven years after his arrival in the island.

XXI. DE REGIBUS.

1. Hi fere fuerunt Graecae gentis[1] duces, qui memoria digni videantur, praeter reges. Namque eos attingere noluimus, quod omnium res gestae separatim sunt relatae.[2] Neque tamen hi admodum sunt multi. Lacedaemonius autem Agesilaus nomine, non potestate,[3] fuit rex, sicut ceteri Spartani. Ex iis vero, qui dominatum[4] imperio tenuerunt, excellentissimi fuerunt, ut nos judicamus, Persarum Cyrus[5] et Darius, Hystaspi filius; quorum uterque privatus virtute regnum est adeptus. Prior horum apud Massagetas[6] in proelio cecidit; Darius senectute diem obiit supremum. Tres[7] sunt praeterea ejusdem generis: Xerxes[8] et duo Artaxerxes, Macrochir cognomine et Mnemon. Xerxi[9] maxime est illustre, quod

[1] He has given lives also of two barbarians, Datames and Eumenes.

[2] In his book or books *De Regibus*, part of the great work *De Viris Illustribus*. See the Introduction.

[3] The ephori having in reality the chief power. Nepos mentions this fact as an excuse for including the life of Agesilaus among those of the simple *duces*.

[4] The emphasis is on *dominatum*, for the Spartan kings, too, had an *imperium*, but they did not by means of it hold sovereign sway.

[5] Cyrus, one of the greatest kings of antiquity, reigned from 559 to 529 B.C. Darius, son of Hystaspes (thus particularised to distinguish him from two of his successors, Darius Ochus or Nothus, and Darius Codomannus, the opponent of Alexander the Great) reigned from 521 to 485 B.C. As to the genitive *Hystaspi* from *Hystaspes*, see *Themist.* 1, p. 16, n. 1.

[6] A Scythian people of Asia, inhabiting the north of the province of Sogdiana.

[7] That is, three worthy of mention. In *ejusdem generis, genus* is equivalent to *gens*, as occasionally. We have another instance in the beginning of the next chapter.

[8] Xerxes reigned from 485 to 465 B.C., Artaxerxes Macrochir (Μακρόχειρ, which is the Greek for *Longimanus*, 'the Long-Handed') from 465 to 425 B.C., and Artaxerxes Mnemon ('the Mindful') from 405 to 362 B.C.

[9] *Xerxi* is the genitive: see above, n. 5, end. *Maxime illustre* is used

maximis post hominum memoriam exercitibus terra marique bellum intulit Graeciae. At Macrochir praecipuam habet laudem amplissimae pulcherrimaeque corporis formae, quam incredibili ornavit virtute belli. Namque illo Perses[1] nemo manu fuit fortior. Mnemon autem justitiae fama floruit. Nam cum matris suae scelere amisisset uxorem,[2] tantum indulsit dolori, ut eum pietas vinceret. Ex his duo eodem nomine[3] morbo naturae debitum reddiderunt; tertius[4] ab Artabano praefecto ferro interemptus est.

2. Ex Macedonum autem genere[5] duo multo ceteros antecesserunt rerum gestarum gloria: Philippus,[6] Amyntae filius, et Alexander Magnus. Horum alter Babylone morbo[7] consumptus est; Philippus Aegis a Pausania, cum spectatum ludos iret, juxta theatrum occisus est. Unus Epirotes, Pyrrhus,[8] qui cum populo Romano bellavit. Is cum Argos oppidum oppugnaret in Peloponneso, lapide ictus interiit. Unus item Siculus, Dionysius prior.[9] Nam et manu fortis et belli peritus fuit, et, id quod in tyranno non facile reperitur, minime libidinosus, non luxuriosus, non avarus, nullius

substantively, 'the most illustrious thing, exploit,' like *illustrissimum* in *Pausan.* 1, beginning. As to the phrase, *post hominum memoriam*, see *Themist.* 5, p. 23, n. 2; and as to the forces of Xerxes, consult *Themist.* 2.

[1] The Greek form of *Persa*. *Nemo* is often joined to substantives designating male persons, quite in the same way as the adjective *nullus*.

[2] Parysatis, the queen-mother—a cruel and vindictive woman—poisoned Statira, wife of Artaxerxes Mnemon. The king, instead of punishing his mother, as he might have done, merely banished her for a time from court. This may prove the *pietas* of Artaxerxes towards his mother, but it is certainly a somewhat peculiar illustration of his *justitia*, to shew which Nepos adduces it. *Tantum* is simply 'to such a degree,' which may be either, as commonly, 'to so great a degree,' 'so much,' or, as here, 'only to such a degree,' 'so little.' From this latter meaning comes the sense of 'only.' *Eum* refers to the *dolor*.

[3] 'The two of the same name'—namely, the Artaxerxes.

[4] Xerxes. Artabanus was commander of his body-guard.

[5] For *gente*: see chapter 1, p. 160, n. 7.

[6] Philip reigned from 359 to 336 B.C., Alexander from 336 to 323 B.C.

[7] Brought on by excessive drinking.

[8] Pyrrhus reigned over Epirus from 295 to 272 B.C. To *Unus Epirotes*, and (a little below) to *Unus Siculus*, supply from the beginning of the chapter *multo ceteros antecessit rerum gestarum gloria*, 'far excelled the other rulers of Epirus (or, in the second case, of Sicily) in the glory of his achievements.'

[9] Dionysius the Elder held the government of Syracuse from 405 to 367 B.C. As to him, see *Dion*, chapters 1 and 2.

denique rei cupidus, nisi singularis[1] perpetuique imperii, ob eamque rem crudelis. Nam dum id studuit[2] munire, nullius pepercit vitae, quem ejus[3] insidiatorem putaret. Hic cum virtute tyrannidem sibi peperisset, magna retinuit felicitate. Major enim annos sexaginta natus[4] decessit, florente regno; neque in tam multis annis cujusquam ex sua stirpe funus vidit, cum ex tribus uxoribus liberos procreasset, multique ei nati essent nepotes.

3. Fuerunt praeterea magni reges ex amicis Alexandri Magni, qui post obitum ejus imperia ceperunt, in his Antigonus et hujus filius Demetrius,[5] Lysimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemaeus. Ex his Antigonus in proelio, cum adversus Seleucum et Lysimachum dimicaret, occisus est.[6] Pari leto affectus est Lysimachus ab Seleuco. Namque, societate dissoluta, bellum inter se gesserunt. At Demetrius, cum filiam suam Seleuco in matrimonium dedisset, neque eo magis fida inter eos amicitia manere potuisset, captus bello, in custodia socer generi periit a morbo.[7] Neque ita multo post Seleucus a Ptolemaeo Cerauno dolo interfectus est,[8] quem ille a patre expulsum Alexandrea,[9] alienarum opum indigentem, receperat. Ipse autem Ptolemaeus, cum vivus filio regnum tradidisset, ab illo eodem vita privatus dicitur.[10]

[1] See *Dion*, 9, p. 87, n. 6.

[2] *Dum* is more commonly construed with the present: *Gram.* § 332, note. Compare *Hannib.* 2, *Quae divina res dum conficiebatur.*

[3] That is, *imperii singularis.*

[4] We have here a rare construction, *major* (*natu quam*) *annos sexaginta natus*, 'greater in age than sixty years old'—that is, 'upwards of sixty years of age.' With *plus, amplius, etc., quam* is very often omitted: *Gram.* § 305, n. 4; and on this analogy it is here left out after *major.*

[5] Antigonus, king of Asia, and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes ('the Besieger'), king of Macedonia, were distinguished by their affection for each other, a rare virtue in those times of discord. As to Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy, see *Eumen.* 10, p. 146, n. 8.

[6] Antigonus fell in 301, Lysimachus, in 281 B.C.

[7] For the simple *morbo*, expressing, however, more the idea of *source*, 'from a disease,' than of *instrumentality*, 'by a disease.' *Gram.* § 291, n. 1. Demetrius died in 283 B.C.

[8] In the year 280 B.C. Ptolemy Ceraunus was the eldest son of Ptolemy Soter, Alexander's general, but was disinherited, the crown of Egypt being given to his brother, Ptolemy Philadelphus.

[9] This word is spelt either *Alexandria* or *Alexandrea.* In Greek it has the diphthong *ει*, which is represented in Latin either by long *e* or long *i*. Other words have the same variation; thus *Darius* and *Dareus.* As to the construction of *indigere*, see *Gram.* § 296, n. 1.

[10] *Nepos is* confused here. In the first place, judging merely from

De quibus quoniam satis dictum putamus, non incommodum[1] videtur non praeterire Hamilcarem et Hannibalem, quos et animi magnitudine et calliditate omnes in Africa natos praestitisse constat.

the mode of expression, we should suppose the *ipse Ptolemaeus* to be Ptolemy Ceraunus, mentioned in the preceding sentence, whereas it really refers to his father, Ptolemy Soter, who, during his lifetime, gave up the throne of Egypt to his younger son, Ptolemy Philadelphus. In the second place, Ptolemy Soter was not killed by this son Philadelphus, but, on the contrary, lived in great harmony with him from the time of his abdication till his death, which took place in 283 B.C. Nepos probably confounds the first of the Ptolemies with his grandson, Ptolemy Euergetes, who was said by some to have been poisoned by his son.

[1] 'Not unseasonable,' 'not improper'—that is, 'very proper.'

XXII. HAMILCAR.

1. HAMILCAR, Hannibalis filius, cognomine Barca,[1] Carthaginiensis, primo Poenico bello,[2] sed temporibus extremis, admodum adolescentulus in Sicilia praeesse coepit exercitui.[3] Cum autem ejus adventu et mari et terra male res gererentur Carthaginiensium, ipse, ubi affuit, nunquam hosti cessit, neque locum nocendi dedit,[4] saepeque e contrario, occasione data, lacessivit, semperque superior discessit. Quo facto, cum paene omnia in Sicilia Poeni amisissent, ille Erycem[5] sic defendit, ut bellum eo loco gestum non videretur. Interim Carthaginienses, classe apud insulas Aegates[6] a C. Lutatio, consule Romanorum, superati, statuerunt belli facere finem, eamque rem arbitrio permiserunt Hamilcaris. Ille etsi flagrabat bellandi cupiditate, tamen paci serviundum putavit, quod patriam exhaustam sumptibus diutius calamitates

[1] A Carthaginian word, meaning 'Forked Lightning,' or 'Glittering Sword.'

[2] The first great war between the Romans and Carthaginians, called the First Punic War, broke out in 264, and lasted till 241 B.C. These wars are called Punic (or Poenic, for the form which we have here is the more ancient) from *Poeni*, a name of the Carthaginians, derived from *Phoenix*, 'Phoenician,' because Carthage was a colony of Tyre in Phoenicia. The change of *Poenicus* into *Punicus* is the same as that seen in *moenia*, *munio*, and *poena*, *punio*.

[3] Hamilcar took the command in the year 247 B.C.

[4] This expression is taken from a skilful gladiator, who leaves no part of his body unguarded. Hamilcar 'gave the enemy no place (opportunity) of injuring him.'

[5] A town on a mountain of the same name, in the extreme west of the island.

[6] A small group of islands off the west of Sicily. The battle was fought in 241 B.C. The Roman commander—whose full name is C. Lutatius Catulus, whence a little further on he is called simply Catulus—was not one of the consuls of the year, but proconsul. He had been *consul the year* before.

belli ferre non posse intelligebat, sed ita ut statim mente agitaret, si paulum modo res essent refectae, bellum renovare, Romanosque armis persequi, donicum[1] aut virtute vicissent aut victi manus dedissent.[2] Hoc consilio pacem conciliavit; in quo tanta fuit ferocia,[3] cum Catulus negaret bellum compositurum, nisi ille cum suis, qui Erycem tenuerunt,[4] armis relictis, Sicilia decederent, ut, succumbente patria, ipse[5] periturum se potius dixerit, quam cum tanto flagitio domum rediret. Non enim suae esse virtutis[6] arma a patria accepta adversus hostes adversariis tradere. Hujus[7] pertinaciae cessit.

2. At ille, ut Carthaginem venit, multo aliter ac sperarat rempublicam se habentem cognovit.[8] Namque diuturnitate externi mali tantum exarsit[9] intestinum bellum, ut nunquam pari periculo fuerit Carthago, nisi cum deleta est. Primo mercenarii milites, qui adversus Romanos fuerant,[10] desciverunt; quorum numerus erat viginti milium.[11] Hi totam abalienarunt Africam,[12] ipsam Carthaginem oppugnarunt. Quibus malis adeo sunt Poeni perterriti, ut etiam auxilia ab Romanis petierint; eaque impetrarunt. Sed extremo, cum prope jam ad desperationem pervenissent, Hamilcarem

1 *Donicum* is an old form of *donec*. *Virtute vicissent;* for Hamilcar thought that in this war his countrymen had been beaten, not in consequence of the superior valour of the Romans, but from their own bad generalship in the earlier period of the war.

2 *Manus dare* is 'to give one's hands up (to be bound),' hence 'to yield at discretion.'

3 'In which affair (*in quo* being equivalent to *in qua re*) he was of (displayed) so great boldness.' As to *ferocia*, see *Themist.* 2, p. 17, n. 9.

4 An insertion of Nepos, as the indicative shews.

5 According to our feelings, *se ipsum periturum* would be more natural. But the general practice in Latin is to make *ipse* the subject.

6 'That it was not consistent with, did not comport with, his valour.'

7 *Hujus* is *Hamilcaris*, and Catulus is the subject of *cessit*.

8 'Found the state situated.' The use of the participle, instead of the infinitive, with verbs of seeing, hearing, and such like, is properly an imitation of a Greek construction. However, the two modes of expression have not always the same meaning: thus *audivi eum haec dicentem*, 'I heard him say (saying) these things,' and *audivi eum haec dicere*, 'I heard that he said these things,' are by no means equivalent.

9 Properly, *exarserat*.

10 To *fuerant* repeat *mercenarii milites*, 'who had been (engaged) as mercenaries.'

11 As to this construction, see *Themist.* 2, p. 18, n. 8.

12 That is, the central part of Northern Africa, which the ancients considered as Africa Proper.

imperatorem fecerunt.[1] Is non solum hostes a muris Carthaginis removit, cum amplius centum milia facta essent armatorum,[2] sed etiam eo compulit, ut locorum angustiis clausi plures fame quam ferro interirent. Omnia oppida abalienata, in his Uticam[3] atque Hipponem, valentissima totius Africae, restituit patriae. Neque eo fuit contentus, sed etiam fines imperii propagavit, tota Africa[4] tantum otium reddidit, ut nullum in ea bellum videretur multis annis fuisse.[5]

3. Rebus his ex sententia[6] peractis, fidenti animo atque infesto Romanis, quo facilius causam bellandi reperiret, effecit, ut imperator cum exercitu in Hispaniam mitteretur,[7] eoque secum duxit filium Hannibalem, annorum novem. Erat praeterea cum eo adolescens illustris, formosus, Hasdrubal; quem nonnulli diligi turpius quam par erat[8] ab Hamilcare loquebantur. Non enim maledici tanto viro deesse poterant.[9] Quo factum est, ut a praefecto morum[10] Hasdrubal cum eo vetaretur esse. Huic ille filiam suam in matrimonium dedit, quod moribus eorum non poterat interdici socero genero.[11] De hoc ideo mentionem fecimus, quod, Hamilcare occiso, ille[12] exercitui praefuit, resque magnas gessit,

[1] The war lasted about three years and a half—from 241 to 238 B.C. —and Hamilcar was appointed commander in 239 B.C.

[2] Immense numbers of Africans having joined the mercenaries.

[3] Celebrated as the place where the younger Cato put himself to death, to avoid falling into the hands of Caesar, and from which he received the surname of *Uticensis.*

[4] As to this construction without *in*, see *Gram.* § 307, 2; *Elem. Gram.* 320.

[5] This is of course exaggerated. It was impossible to efface the traces of so terrible a war in a short time.

[6] As to this phrase, see *Alcib.* 7, p. 61, n. 6.

[7] In the year 237 B.C.

[8] For *esset:* see *Milt.* 3, p. 7, n. 11. As to *loquebantur*, see *Alcib.* 7, p. 61, n. 9.

[9] The Romans, as well as the faction in Carthage opposed to Hamilcar, Hannibal, and Hasdrubal, invented many falsehoods regarding these great men, for the purpose of injuring their reputation.

[10] Apparently a magistrate at Carthage, exercising the same functions as the censors at Rome.

[11] One of the modes of construing *interdico* is *interdico alicui aliqua re.* This in the passive takes an impersonal form, *interdicitur alicui aliqua re.* Here, therefore, either *socero* or *genero*—which, we cannot say, though more probably the former—is a dative, the other an ablative.

[12] That is, Hasdrubal. He had the command in Spain from 229 to 221 B.C.

et princeps[1] largitione vetustos pervertit mores Carthaginiensium, ejusdemque post mortem Hannibal ab exercitu accepit imperium.

4. At Hamilcar, posteaquam mare transiit, in Hispaniamque venit, magnas res secunda gessit fortuna; maximas bellicosissimasque gentes subegit; equis, armis, viris, pecunia[2] totam locupletavit Africam. Hic cum in Italiam[3] bellum inferre meditaretur, nono anno postquam in Hispaniam venerat, in proelio pugnans adversus Vettones,[4] occisus est. Hujus perpetuum odium erga Romanos maxime concitasse videtur secundum bellum Poenicum. Namque Hannibal, filius ejus, assiduis patris obtestationibus eo est perductus, ut interire quam Romanos non experiri mallet.

[1] For *primus*, as often. The imputation is probably false. See p. 166, n. 9.

[2] When several substantives come together in this manner, the general rule, in good prose, is either to insert *et* in all the places, or omit it in all. It is necessary to observe this, because in English we commonly insert 'and' between the last two substantives, omitting it in the other places.

[3] The ordinary construction is *alicui bellum inferre*, but the repetition of the preposition expresses the idea of place, 'into Italy,' more distinctly. Compare *Cimon*, 4, p. 47, n. 8.

[4] A people of the west of Spain, dwelling between the Tagus and the Guadiana. Hamilcar's death took place in the year 229 B.C. The circumstances are variously related.

XXIII. HANNIBAL.

1. HANNIBAL, Hamilcaris filius, Carthaginiensis. Si verum est, quod nemo dubitat, ut[1] populus Romanus omnes gentes virtute superarit, non est infitiandum Hannibalem tanto praestitisse ceteros imperatores prudentia, quanto populus Romanus antecedat fortitudine cunctas nationes. Nam quotiescunque cum eo[2] congressus est in Italia, semper discessit superior. Quod nisi[3] domi civium suorum invidia debilitatus esset, Romanos videtur superare potuisse. Sed multorum obtrectatio devicit unius virtutem.

Hic autem velut hereditate relictum odium paternum[4] erga Romanos sic conservavit, ut prius animam quam id deposuerit; qui[5] quidem, cum patria pulsus esset et alienarum opum indigeret, nunquam destiterit animo bellare cum Romanis.

2. Nam ut omittam Philippum,[6] quem absens hostem

[1] *Verum est, ut populus Romanus superarit*, instead of the regular construction, *verum est populum Romanum superasse* is singular, and by no means to be imitated. It is on the analogy of *necesse est ut*, *aequum est ut*, and similar expressions. *Gram.* § 352, n. 1.

[2] Namely, *populo Romano.*

[3] *Quod si* is a very common phrase, meaning, 'if therefore.' Hence *quod nisi* is 'if therefore—not,' 'unless therefore.' *Domi*, 'at home'—that is, in his native city, Carthage. The force of the clause is, that when Hannibal was in Italy, the Carthaginians, through the influence of the faction opposed to his family, were induced to grant him assistance with a very niggardly hand.

[4] See the last chapter of the Life of Hamilcar.

[5] 'So that he:' fully, 'being such a man that he.' *Gram.* § 360, 3; *Elem. Gram.* 360, 3.

[6] Philip V., king of Macedonia from 220 to 179 B.C., a monarch of great ability, and naturally of good dispositions, but who, through the influence of evil counsellors, became a tyrant and a profligate. He formed an alliance with Hannibal after the great battle of Cannae

reddidit Romanis, omnium his temporibus potentissimus rex Antiochus[1] fuit. Hunc tanta cupiditate incendit bellandi, ut usque a Rubro Mari arma conatus sit inferre Italiae. Ad quem cum legati venissent[2] Romani, qui de ejus voluntate explorarent, darentque operam consiliis clandestinis, ut Hannibalem in suspicionem regi adducerent, tamquam ab ipsis corruptum,[3] alia atque antea sentire, neque id frustra fecissent, idque Hannibal comperisset, seque ab interioribus consiliis segregari vidisset, tempore[4] dato adiit ad regem, eique cum multa de fide sua et odio in Romanos commemorasset, hoc adjunxit: 'Pater meus,' inquit, 'Hamilcar, puerulo me, utpote non amplius novem annos nato, in Hispaniam imperator proficiscens[5] Carthagine, Jovi Optimo Maximo hostias immolavit. Quae divina res[6] dum conficiebatur, quaesivit a

(216 B.C.), principally by the instigation of his favourite, Demetrius of Pharos. The influence of Hannibal in the matter appears to have consisted merely in the success of his arms.

1 Antiochus III., king of Syria, surnamed the Great, reigned from 223 to 187 B.C. *Nam*, at the beginning of this sentence, is obviously intended to introduce a proof or illustration of the statement made in the end of the preceding chapter, that Hannibal never ceased, even in his adversity, to cherish feelings of hatred against the Romans. Consequently, instead of *Nam—omnium—potentissimus rex Antiochus fuit: hunc—incendit, cet.*, the logical mode of speaking would be, to throw the two sentences into one, *Nam—Antiochum, qui omnium—potentissimus rex fuit, tanta cupiditate incendit bellandi, cet.* Nepos, however, desirous to simplify the construction, divides the period, making what is in reality a mere accessory and parenthetical observation (*qui—fuit*) into a sentence by itself, forgetting that the *nam* is in no way applicable to it.

2 In the year 192 B.C.

3 *Tamquam ab ipsis corruptum* belong closely to *Hannibalem*, though they are somewhat awkwardly separated from it. The order of construction, therefore, is this: *ut adducerent Hannibalem, tamquam ab ipsis corruptum* (that is, *quem ab ipsis corruptum esse simularent*), *regi in suspicionem* (*eum*) *sentire alia atque antea* ('was entertaining different sentiments—with regard to the Romans—from those which he had formerly avowed.') *Adducere aliquem alicui in suspicionem*, is 'to bring one into suspicion with another,' 'to make one be suspected by another.' One means adopted by the ambassadors for effecting their end, was to visit and converse with Hannibal often, thus leading the king to think that his old hostility to their nation had in some way been removed.

4 That is, *tempore opportuno*, 'an opportunity.' Compare *Alcib.* 5, p. 59, n. 2.

5 For the future *profecturus*. This use of the present, as being the more lively and picturesque mode of representation, occurs often, especially in poetry.

6 That is, 'sacrifice.' As to *dum conficiebatur*, see De Reg. 2, p. 162, n. 2.

me, vellemne secum in castra proficisci. Id cum libenter accepissem, atque ab eo petere coepissem, ne dubitaret ducere, tum ille "Faciam," inquit, "si mihi fidem, quam postulo, dederis." Simul me ad aram adduxit, apud quam sacrificare instituerat, eamque, ceteris remotis, tenentem jurare jussit, nunquam me in amicitia cum Romanis fore. Id ego jusjurandum patri datum usque ad hanc aetatem ita conservavi, ut nemini dubium esse debeat, quin reliquo tempore eadem mente sim futurus. Quare, si quid amice de Romanis cogitabis, non imprudenter feceris, si me celaris;[1] cum quidem bellum parabis, te ipsum frustraberis, si non me in eo[2] principem posueris.'

3. Hac igitur, qua diximus, aetate cum patre in Hispaniam profectus est.[3] Cujus post obitum, Hasdrubale imperatore suffecto, equitatui omni praefuit. Hoc quoque interfecto, exercitus summam imperii ad eum detulit. Id Carthaginem delatum publice comprobatum est. Sic Hannibal, minor quinque et viginti annis natus,[4] imperator factus proximo triennio omnes gentes Hispaniae bello subegit; Saguntum,[5]

[1] 'If thou shalt have concealed (in concealing) it from me.' *Gram.* § 254, 1; *Elem. Gram.* 273, 1.

[2] That is, not *in bello*, but *in bello parando.*

[3] As to the dates in the first part of this chapter, see the notes on *Hamilcar*, 3.

[4] As to this mode of expression, see *De Reg.* 2, p. 162, n. 4. The ablative *annis* is used instead of the accusative *annos*, because the substantive is very irregularly thrown immediately under the government of the comparative *minor*, leaving *natus* in a manner quite unconnected. There is a similar case in Cicero. Nepos errs in stating that Hannibal was at this time under twenty-five: he was in his twenty-sixth year.

[5] Saguntum (now Murviedro, a corruption of *muri veteres*), a town situated south of the Ebro, and not far from the sea. *Foederatam*, 'allied,' namely, with the Romans. The feeling of Nepos as a Roman was, that Saguntum was allied 'with us;' and, this being well known to his countrymen, for whom, in the first instance, he was writing, he does not consider it necessary to state the fact fully. *Civitas* must not be taken here as exactly equivalent to *urbs*, for this is a use of the word almost exclusively confined to later Latinity. The distinction is this: *urbs* is 'a city,' viewed in regard to its buildings, a large collection of houses; *civitas* is 'a city,' viewed politically, in regard to its institutions, a large body of men living together under the same government, 'a state.' Hence it is evident that an *urbs*, in the strict sense, could not be *foederata*, for it is the inhabitants, not the buildings, that are allied. We must not press too stringently the fact, that *civitatem* is in apposition to *Saguntum*, which is governed by *expugnavit*, a verb clearly referring to the buildings; but must take

foederatam civitatem, vi expugnavit; tres exercitus maximos comparavit. Ex his unum in Africam misit, alterum cum Hasdrubale fratre in Hispania reliquit, tertium in Italiam secum duxit. Saltum Pyrenaeum transiit.[1] Quacunque iter fecit, cum omnibus incolis conflixit:[2] neminem nisi victum dimisit. Ad Alpes posteaquam venit, quae Italiam ab Gallia sejungunt, quas nemo unquam cum exercitu ante eum praeter Herculem Graium transierat[3] (quo facto[4] is hodie saltus Graius appellatur), Alpicos conantes prohibere transitu concidit; loca patefecit, itinera muniit,[5] effecit ut ea elephantus ornatus[6] ire posset, qua antea unus homo inermis vix poterat repere. Hac copias traduxit in Italiamque pervenit.

4. Conflixerat apud Rhodanum cum P. Cornelio Scipione[7] consule, eumque pepulerat. Cum hoc eodem Clastidi apud Padum[8] decernit, sauciumque inde ac fugatum dimittit. Tertio idem Scipio cum collega Tiberio Longo[9] apud Trebiam

foederatam civitatem as quite equivalent to *quae civitas* ('a state') *foederata Romanis erat.* Hannibal took Saguntum in the end of the year 219 B.C., after a siege of nearly eight months.

1 In the year 218 B.C.

2 This is scarcely correct, since a number of the Gallic tribes allowed him to pass peaceably.

3 Gallic hordes had crossed the Alps into Northern Italy several times. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that Hercules and all his wonderful achievements are mythical. Nepos adds the adjective *Graium* (see *Praefatio*, p. 2, n. 1), to distinguish the Hercules to whom his story refers from others, as the Cretan, Phoenician, and Celtic Hercules.

4 *Quo facto* is used in two senses, either 'which having been done'—that is, *post quod factum*—or 'on account of which,' *propter quod factum.* The latter is its meaning here.

5 *Iter* or *viam munire* is the technical expression for 'to make a road.'

6 'With all its accoutrements or trappings.' Observe the exactness of the antithesis: *elephantus, unus homo; ornatus, inermis; ire, repere; posset, vix poterat.*

7 This is an error. The barbarians had unsuccessfully attempted to prevent Hannibal from crossing the Rhone, but the consul Scipio was not present.

8 Padus (now Po), the principal river of the Italian peninsula, falls into the Adriatic in the east of Cisalpine Gaul. Clastidium (now Casteggio) was a town of Liguria, somewhat south of the Po. Hannibal's first battle with Scipio was not at Clastidium, but near the Ticinus (now Ticino), a small river of Cisalpine Gaul, falling into the Po from the north. The capture of Clastidium followed shortly afterwards, and Nepos seems to have confounded it with the battle.

9 Fully, Tiberius Sempronius Longus. The Trebia (now Trebbia) is a tributary of the Po, falling into it from the south.

adversus eum venit. Cum his manum conseruit, utrosque[1] profligavit. Inde per Ligures Apenninum transiit,[2] petens Etruriam. Hoc itinere adeo gravi morbo afficitur oculorum, ut postea nunquam dextro aeque bene usus sit. Qua valetudine cum etiamnum premeretur, lecticaque ferretur, C. Flaminium consulem apud Trasimenum[3] cum exercitu insidiis circumventum occidit, neque multo post C. Centenium praetorem cum delecta manu saltus occupantem. Hinc in Apuliam pervenit. Ibi obviam ei venerunt duo consules, C. Terentius et L. Aemilius.[4] Utriusque exercitus uno proelio fugavit, Paullum consulem occidit et aliquot praeterea consulares, in his P.[5] Servilium Geminum, qui superiore anno fuerat consul.

5. Hac pugna pugnata, Romam profectus est,[6] nullo resistente. In propinquis urbis[7] montibus moratus est. Cum aliquot ibi dies castra habuisset et reverteretur Capuam,[8] Q. Fabius Maximus, dictator Romanus, in agro Falerno[9] ei se objecit. Hic clausus locorum angustiis noctu sine ullo detrimento exercitus se expedivit; Fabio, callidissimo imperatori, dedit verba.[10] Namque, obducta nocte, sarmenta

[1] For *utrumque*. See *Timol.* 2, p. 155, n. 10.

[2] In the beginning of the year 217 B.C.

[3] A lake in the east of Etruria.

[4] The great battle between Hannibal and the consuls Terentius Varro and Aemilius Paullus, near the village of Cannae in Apulia, did not take place till the 2d of August 216 B.C. The adventures with Fabius and Minucius, narrated in the next chapter, occurred between the battle of Lake Trasimenus and the end of 217 B.C.

[5] His praenomen was not Publius, but Cnaeus.

[6] So far from Hannibal's marching to Rome immediately after the battle of Cannae, he did not take this step till five years afterwards, in 211 B.C. His comparative inactivity, indeed, after that great victory, is almost unaccountable, and is said to have called forth from Maharbal, one of his principal officers, the observation: 'You know how to gain victories, Hannibal, but not how to use them.' The construction *pugnam pugnare*, 'to fight a battle,' in which a verb (in this case an intransitive verb) is made to govern a cognate substantive, is strictly a Graecism. *Victoriam vincere* is another expression of the kind.

[7] *Propinquus* is much more commonly construed with the dative: *Gram.* § 267, with n. 1; *Elem. Gram.* 286.

[8] A large and important city, the capital of the province of Campania.

[9] A district in the west of Campania, north of the river Vulturnus, and famous for its wine.

[10] *Verba dare* is a phrase meaning 'to give (mere empty) words,' 'to make false promises;' hence, generally, 'to deceive.'

in cornibus juvencorum deligata incendit, ejusque generis multitudinem magnam dispalatam immisit. Quo repentino objectu viso, tantum terrorem injecit exercitui Romanorum, ut egredi extra vallum nemo sit ausus.[1] Hanc post rem gestam non ita multis diebus M. Minucium Rufum, magistrum equitum pari ac dictatorem imperio, dolo productum in proelium fugavit. Tiberium Sempronium Gracchum, iterum[2] consulem, in Lucanis[3] absens in insidias inductum sustulit. M. Claudium Marcellum, quinquies[4] consulem, apud Venusiam[5] pari modo interfecit. Longum est[6] enumerare proelia. Quare hoc unum satis erit dictum, ex quo intelligi possit, quantus ille fuerit: quamdiu in Italia fuit, nemo ei in acie restitit,[7] nemo adversus eum post Cannensem pugnam in campo castra posuit.

6. Hinc invictus patriam defensum revocatus,[8] bellum gessit adversus P. Scipionem, quem[9] ipse primo apud

[1] Fabius had placed a large body of men to guard the pass, whilst the main body of his army encamped at a little distance. Hannibal's stratagem frightened away the guards, and his troops passed through in safety.

[2] Instead of *iterum* we should have *bis*, because the class of numeral adverbs to which the former belongs is applicable, properly, only when the event mentioned occurred during the consulship, which is not the case here, for Gracchus fell in 212 B.C., in which year he was not consul.

[3] *In Lucanis* belongs to *sustulit*, which means here 'removed from life;' that is, 'slew.' Hannibal is said to have done this, though he himself was *absens*, because it was effected by one of his officers.

[4] This should be *quintum*, because Marcellus fell *in* his fifth consulship (208 B.C.): see n. 2.

[5] A town in the west of Apulia, near the river Aufidus (now Ofanto), and celebrated as the birthplace of the poet Horace. *Pari modo;* that is, by an ambuscade, *in insidias inductum.*

[6] This is the regular mode of expression in Latin, for the more logical *longum esset.*

[7] This is somewhat too strong, but certain it is, that he was never beaten in Italy.

[8] Hannibal passed over into Africa towards the close of the year 203 B.C., having been in Italy about fifteen years.

[9] This is a very gross blunder, and can only be accounted for by a momentary absence of mind on the part of Nepos. The P. Scipio whom Hannibal now encountered was not he whom he had defeated on the Ticinus and the Trebia, but his son, the greatest of the Scipios, afterwards known as Africanus. The father had fallen in Spain. As to the battle at the Rhone, see chapter 4, p. 171, n. 7. In speaking of a battle *apud Padum*, the author means that of the Ticinus: he is misled by his erroneous notion, that it took place at Clastidium: see chapter 4, p. 171, n. 8.

Rhodanum, iterum apud Padum, tertio apud Trebiam fugarat. Cum hoc, exhaustis jam patriae facultatibus, cupivit impraesentiarum[1] bellum componere, quo valentior postea congrederetur. In colloquium convenit; conditiones non convenerunt.[2] Post id factum paucis diebus[3] apud Zamam cum eodem conflixit: pulsus (incredibile dictu)[4] biduo et duabus noctibus Hadrumetum pervenit, quod abest ab Zama circiter milia passuum trecenta. In hac fuga Numidae, qui simul cum eo ex acie excesserant, insidiati sunt ei; quos non solum effugit, sed etiam ipsos oppressit. Hadrumeti reliquos e fuga collegit; novis delectibus paucis diebus multos contraxit.

7. Cum in apparando[5] acerrime esset occupatus, Carthaginienses bellum cum Romanis composuerunt. Ille nihilo secius exercitui postea praefuit resque in Africa gessit, itemque Mago, frater ejus,[6] usque ad P. Sulpicium, C. Aurelium, consules.[7] His enim magistratibus legati Carthaginienses Romam venerunt, qui senatui populoque Romano gratias agerent, quod cum his pacem fecissent, ob eamque rem corona aurea eos donarent simulque peterent, ut obsides eorum Fregellis[8] essent, captivique redderentur. His ex senatusconsulto responsum est, munus eorum gratum acceptumque esse; obsides, quo loco rogarent, futuros; captivos non remissuros, quod Hannibalem, cujus opera susceptum

1 'For the present,' 'for the time.' This word very rarely occurs in good writers. It appears to belong to colloquial language, and is probably a contraction for *in praesentia rerum.*

2 Namely, *inter eos:* 'the conditions were not agreed upon between them.' *Convenit—convenerunt* is perhaps a mere accidental coincidence.

3 It was on the very next day. Zama was situated inland, considerably to the south-west of Carthage. This battle was fought in the year 202 B.C.

4 This belongs not to the *pulsus*, but to the *biduo—pervenit.* Hadrumetum was on the sea-coast, south-east from Zama.

5 'In making preparations.' See *Thrasyb.* 2, p. 70, n. 3. Whether Hannibal was engaged at this time in gathering together a new army or not, at all events we know that, conscious of the utter impossibility of continuing the war with success, he was one of the foremost in recommending the conclusion of a peace. The treaty of peace was settled in 201 B.C.

6 Other authorities state, that Mago died in 203 B.C., on his voyage from Italy to Africa. It is probable that Nepos confounds Mago, the brother of Hannibal, with some other commander of the same name.

7 These two were consuls in 200 B.C., the year after the conclusion of the treaty of peace.

8 Fregellae (now Ceprano), a town in Latium, near the river Liris. *Essent,* 'should be;' that is, 'should live.'

bellum foret, inimicissimum nomini Romano,[1] etiamnunc cum imperio apud exercitum haberent, itemque fratrem ejus Magonem. Hoc responso Carthaginienses cognito[2] Hannibalem domum et Magonem revocarunt. Huc ut rediit, praetor factus est,[3] postquam rex fuerat anno secundo et vicesimo. Ut enim Romae consules, sic Carthagine quotannis annui bini reges creabantur. In eo magistratu pari diligentia se Hannibal praebuit, ac fuerat in bello. Namque effecit ex novis vectigalibus, non solum ut[4] esset pecunia, quae Romanis ex foedere penderetur, sed etiam superesset, quae in aerario reponeretur. Deinde anno post praeturam, M. Claudio, L. Furio, consulibus, Roma legati Carthaginem venerunt. Hos Hannibal ratus sui exposcendi gratia missos, priusquam his senatus daretur,[5] navem ascendit clam, atque in Syriam ad Antiochum profugit. Hac re palam facta, Poeni naves duas, quae eum comprehenderent, si possent consequi, miserunt, bona ejus publicarunt, domum a fundamentis disjecerunt, ipsum exulem judicarunt.

[1] That is, *populo Romano*. *Nomen* is often thus used, particularly where the inhabitants of several distinct places are comprehended under one general appellation, as in *nomen Latinum*.

[2] As to this position of the words, see *Pausan.* 5, p. 41, n. 10. *Domum* is oddly inserted between *Hannibalem* and *et Magonem:* compare *Themist.* 2, p. 19, n. 9.

[3] We know comparatively little regarding the nature of the Carthaginian government; Nepos in all probability knew equally little, or less. But, if we trust his account, it is evident that the magistrate whom he styles *praetor* had to do with the administration of civil affairs merely, like the *praetor urbanus* at Rome, and that the word is not used here in the same sense as in *Milt.* 4 (p. 9, n. 13), and other passages. The Carthaginian name of the magistrate here called *rex*, was *sufes* or *suffes*. If Hannibal was made *praetor* immediately after his recall from the army (that is, in 199 B.C.), as *Huc ut rediit* would seem to intimate, then this must have been an office held for three years, for the consulship of M. Claudius and L. Furius, which is said a little below to have been in the year after his praetorship, was in 196 B.C. Hannibal is said to have been made *praetor* in the twenty-second year after he had been *rex*, and hence, if his *praetura* commenced in 199 B.C., his *regnum* would fall in 221 B.C. If the statement is correct, we must suppose that the Carthaginians bestowed upon him this honour while he was absent in Spain, as a proof of their perfect satisfaction with the choice that the army had made of him as their commander, after Hasdrubal's death, which, it will be remembered, took place in that year.

[4] As the *ut* belongs both to *non solum—esset*, and to *sed etiam—superesset*, it should properly stand before *non solum.*

[5] *Senatus alicui datur*, 'an audience of the senate is given to one.' As to Antiochus, see chapter 2, p. 169, n. 1.

8. At Hannibal anno tertio postquam domo profugerat, L. Cornelio, Q. Minucio, consulibus,[1] cum quinque navibus Africam accessit[2] in finibus Cyrenaeorum, si[3] forte Carthaginienses ad bellum Antiochi spe fiduciaque[4] possent induci, cui jam persuaserat, ut cum exercitibus in Italiam proficisceretur. Huc Magonem fratrem[5] excivit. Id ubi Poeni resciverunt, Magonem eadem, qua fratrem, absentem poena affecerunt. Illi, desperatis rebus, cum solvissent naves ac vela ventis dedissent,[6] Hannibal ad Antiochum pervenit. De Magonis interitu duplex memoria[7] prodita est. Namque alii naufragio, alii a servulis ipsius interfectum[8] eum, scriptum reliquerunt. Antiochus autem, si tam in gerendo bello consiliis ejus parere voluisset, quam in suscipiendo instituerat, propius Tiberi quam Thermopylis[9] de summa imperii dimicasset. Quem[10] etsi multa stulte conari videbat, tamen nulla deseruit in re. Praefuit paucis navibus, quas ex Syria jussus erat in Asiam[11] ducere, hisque adversus Rhodiorum classem in Pamphylio mari conflixit. Quo[12] cum multitudine adversariorum sui superarentur, ipse, quo cornu rem gessit, fuit superior.

[1] That is, in the year 193 B.C. Hence, in saying *tertio anno*, Nepos does not, as was usual in ancient counting, include the year from which the subtraction is made. Compare *Lysand.* 1, p. 49, n. 1.

[2] As to *Africam accessit*, see *Themist.* 4, p. 20, n. 11.

[3] 'To try, or see, whether.' This use of *si* is not very common, and is properly a Graecism.

[4] 'By the hope and confidence of Antiochus,' a case of the figure *hendiadys* (ἓν διὰ δυοῖν, 'one thing by two words'), for 'by the confident hope of having Antiochus as an auxiliary.'

[5] See chapter 7, p. 174, n. 6.

[6] 'Had given their sails to the winds,' poetical for 'had set sail.' *Illi* belongs to the clause with *cum*.

[7] 'Two accounts.' *Memoria* is commonly 'memory,' but sometimes also, 'that which memory preserves,' 'a tradition.'

[8] We have here an instance of the figure called Zeugma, by which one verb is joined to two substantives in somewhat different senses. Thus to *naufragio* we must take out of *interfectum esse* the general notion, *periisse*.

[9] In 191 B.C., Antiochus was entirely defeated at Thermopylae (see *Themist.* 3, p. 19, n. 13) by the Roman consul, M'. Acilius Glabrio. *Propius Tiberi*: *propius* is more commonly construed with the accusative. *Gram.* § 255, n. 2.

[10] That is, *Antiochum*. The subject of *videbat* is Hannibal.

[11] That is, Asia Minor, as often.

[12] Namely, *proelio*, which must be taken out of *conflixit*. Compare *Datam.* 5, p. 105, n. 6.

9. Antiocho fugato,[1] verens ne dederetur, quod sine dubio accidisset, si sui fecisset potestatem,[2] Cretam ad Gortynios[3] venit, ut ibi, quo se conferret, consideraret. Vidit autem vir omnium callidissimus magno se fore periculo, nisi quid providisset,[4] propter avaritiam Cretensium. Magnam enim secum pecuniam portabat, de qua sciebat exisse famam. Itaque capit tale consilium. Amphoras complures complet plumbo, summas[5] operit auro et argento. Has, praesentibus principibus, deponit in templo Dianae, simulans se suas fortunas illorum fidei credere. His in errorem inductis, statuas aeneas,[6] quas secum portabat, omni sua pecunia complet, easque in propatulo domi abjicit.[7] Gortynii templum magna cura custodiunt, non tam a ceteris quam ab Hannibale, ne quid ille, inscientibus his,[8] tolleret secumque duceret.

10. Sic conservatis suis rebus, Poenus, illusis Cretensibus omnibus, ad Prusiam[9] in Pontum pervenit. Apud quem eodem animo fuit erga Italiam, neque aliud quicquam egit, quam regem armavit et exercuit[10] adversus Romanos. Quem cum videret domesticis opibus minus esse robustum, conciliabat ceteros reges, adjungebat bellicosas nationes. Dissidebat ab eo Pergamenus[11] rex Eumenes, Romanis amicissimus, bellumque inter eos gerebatur et mari et terra; quo magis cupiebat eum Hannibal opprimi. Sed utrobique[12] Eumenes plus valebat propter Romanorum societatem. Quem si removisset, faciliora sibi cetera fore arbitrabatur.

[1] In 190 B.C., Antiochus was defeated near Magnesia by the consul L. Cornelius Scipio.

[2] As to this phrase, see *Agesil.* 3, p. 131, n. 1.

[3] Gortyna (now Metropoli) was a strong city on the river Lethaeus, in the island of Crete.

[4] 'Unless he should have taken some precaution.'

[5] 'The tops of them,' on the principle of *summus mons*, 'the highest part of the mountain.'

[6] They were hollow, and the head could be removed.

[7] 'He places them at his house in open view.' *Abjicere* intimates that he made them be put down carelessly, as if they were valueless.

[8] That is, the Gortynians. Compare *Themist.* 7, p. 25, n. 2.

[9] Prusias was king of Bithynia. Pontus, though strictly a province in the north-east of Asia Minor, is also sometimes used generally of the provinces lying on the southern shore of the Euxine.

[10] *Exercere* here seems to mean, 'to keep constantly in a state of irritation.'

[11] Pergamus, a city of Mysia, was the capital of a kingdom which included a great part of Asia Minor.

[12] That is, both by sea and land.

Ad hunc interficiendum talem iniit rationem. Classe paucis diebus erant decreturi.[1] Superabatur navium multitudine;[2] dolo erat pugnandum, cum par non esset armis. Imperavit quam plurimas venenatas serpentes vivas colligi, easque in vasa fictilia conjici. Harum cum effecisset magnam multitudinem, die ipso, quo facturus erat navale proelium, classiarios convocat, hisque praecipit, omnes ut in unam Eumenis regis concurrant navem, a ceteris tantum satis habeant se defendere. Id illos facile serpentium multitudine consecuturos. Rex autem in qua nave veheretur, ut scirent, se facturum.[3] Quem si aut cepissent aut interfecissent, magno his pollicetur praemio fore.[4]

11. Tali cohortatione militum facta, classis ab utrisque[5] in proelium deducitur. Quarum[6] acie constituta, priusquam signum pugnae daretur, Hannibal, ut palam faceret suis, quo loco Eumenes esset, tabellarium in scapha cum caduceo[7] mittit. Qui ubi ad naves adversariorum pervenit, epistolamque ostendens se regem professus est quaerere, statim ad Eumenem deductus est, quod nemo dubitabat aliquid de pace esse scriptum.[8] Tabellarius, ducis nave declarata suis, eodem, unde erat egressus, se recepit. At Eumenes, soluta epistola, nihil in ea reperit, nisi quod ad irridendum eum[9] pertineret. Cujus etsi causam mirabatur, neque reperiebatur,[10] tamen

[1] 'They were about to fight.' This is perhaps the only passage in which the future participle of the verb has this meaning.

[2] 'He was surpassed (by Eumenes) in the number of his ships,' not 'he was conquered in consequence of the multitude,' &c.

[3] The order of construction is this: *se autem facturum, ut scirent, in qua nave rex veheretur.*

[4] See *Pausan.* 4, p. 41, n. 9.

[5] 'By both parties.'

[6] To *quarum* supply *classium* from *classis.*

[7] Heralds or ambassadors sent to treat of peace carried a white wand, which was thus equivalent to our 'flag of truce.'

[8] Better *quin aliquid—esset scriptum.* See *Praefatio*, p. 1, n. 1.

[9] Strictly *se*, since the pronoun refers to Eumenes himself, the subject of the sentence. The truth is, however, that the Latin writers are so much at variance in the use of these pronouns, that no strict rules can be laid down.

[10] From *causam*, the object of *mirabatur*, supply *causa* as subject to *reperiebatur.* The necessity of so doing might have been avoided by using the active, *reperiebat;* but the passive leaves the action of the verb more general, since we may suppose that others besides the king failed in their endeavour to find out a reason for Hannibal's singular *proceeding.*

proelium statim committere non dubitavit. Horum[1] in concursu Bithynii Hannibalis praecepto universi navem Eumenis adoriuntur. Quorum vim rex cum sustinere non posset, fuga salutem petiit; quam consecutus non esset, nisi intra sua praesidia se recepisset, quae in proximo litore erant collocata. Reliquae Pergamenae naves cum adversarios premerent acrius, repente in eas vasa fictilia, de quibus supra mentionem fecimus, conjici coepta sunt. Quae jacta initio risum pugnantibus concitarunt, neque, quare id fieret, poterat intelligi. Postquam autem naves completas conspexerunt serpentibus, nova re perterriti, cum quid potissimum vitarent non viderent, puppes verterunt[2] seque ad sua castra nautica[3] retulerunt. Sic Hannibal consilio arma Pergamenorum superavit; neque tum solum, sed saepe alias pedestribus copiis[4] pari prudentia pepulit adversarios.

12. Quae dum in Asia geruntur, accidit casu, ut legati Prusiae Romae apud L. Quintium Flamininum[5] consularem coenarent, atque ibi, de Hannibale mentione facta, ex his unus diceret eum in Prusiae regno esse. Id postero die Flamininus senatui detulit. Patres conscripti, qui, Hannibale vivo, nunquam se sine insidiis futuros existimarent, legatos in Bithyniam miserunt, in his Flamininum, qui ab rege peterent, ne inimicissimum suum[6] secum haberet, sibique dederet.[7]

[1] That is, of the two parties who have been spoken of—the Bithynians and Pergamenians.

[2] 'They turned their sterns,' an expression having much the same force as our 'to turn tail;' that is, wheel round for the purpose of running away.

[3] See *Alcib.* 8, p. 63, n. 6. This naval camp is the place on the nearest shore where, as mentioned a little above, the guards were stationed.

[4] 'With the land-forces.' See *Alcib.* 8, p. 62, n. 12.

[5] It is very unlikely that Prusias had ambassadors at Rome at this time, when he was engaged in war with Eumenes, the close ally of the Romans. Eumenes, however, might have, and from them Flamininus might learn, if he did not know it before, that Hannibal was at the Bithynian court. It is probable that the praenomen *Lucius* here is a slip for *Titus*. At all events, it was not Lucius Flamininus, but his brother Titus, renowned for his exploits in Greece, who was sent as ambassador to Prusias.

[6] 'Their deadliest foe.' Even the superlative is thus occasionally used as a substantive.

[7] From the preceding *ne* (which is equivalent to ut non) take ut to govern *dederet*.

His Prusia[1] negare ausus non est; illud recusavit, ne id a se fieri postularent, quod adversus jus hospitii[2] esset: ipsi, si possent, comprehenderent; locum, ubi esset, facile inventuros. Hannibal enim uno loco se tenebat, in castello, quod ei a rege datum erat muneri,[3] idque sic aedificarat, ut in omnibus partibus aedificii exitus haberet, scilicet verens ne usu veniret, quod accidit.[4] Huc cum legati Romanorum venissent ac multitudine domum ejus circumdedissent, puer[5] ab janua prospiciens Hannibali dixit, plures praeter consuetudinem armatos apparere. Qui imperavit ei, ut omnes fores aedificii circumiret ac propere sibi nunciaret, num eodem modo undique obsideretur. Puer cum celeriter, quid esset, renunciasset omnesque exitus occupatos ostendisset, sensit id non fortuito factum, sed se peti,[6] neque sibi diutius vitam esse retinendam. Quam ne alieno arbitrio dimitteret, memor pristinarum virtutum,[7] venenum, quod semper secum habere consueverat, sumpsit.[8]

13. Sic vir fortissimus, multis variisque perfunctus laboribus, anno acquievit[9] septuagesimo. Quibus consulibus interierit, non convenit. Namque Atticus,[10] M. Claudio

[1] As to this form, see *Alcib.* 3, p. 56, n. 3.

[2] See *Themist.* 8, p. 27, n. 8.

[3] As to the construction *ei datum erat muneri*, see *Gram.* § 270; *Elem. Gram.* 289.

[4] 'Lest that should occur which really did.'

[5] 'A slave,' or 'servant,' however old he might be. This use of the word is common, and is very natural, as we see from the analogous cases of the Greek παῖς; French, garçon; English, 'postboy,' &c.

[6] As to the sense of *peti*, see *Themist.* 2, p. 18, n. 13.

[7] *Virtutes* here are not 'virtues,' but rather 'exhibitions of that one virtue (courage) for which *virtus* often stands,' 'proofs of courage.'

[8] Thus, hunted like a felon by the Romans, died one of the most illustrious generals, and, take him all in all, one of the greatest men of whom the history of antiquity has left us any record.

[9] 'Fell asleep,' a euphemism (see *Milt.* 7, p. 14, n. 3) for 'died,' very suitable in connection with *multis variisque perfunctus laboribus.* In saying that Hannibal died in his seventieth year, Nepos is inconsistent with himself, and with truth. If, as we are told in chapter 2, he was only nine when he went with his father to Spain—that is, in 237 B.C.—then, since he died in 183 B.C. (see the following note), he could not be more than sixty-three. Even taking the date of 181 B.C., we can make him no more than sixty-five.

[10] Atticus is the same whose life Nepos has written. His principal literary production was one entitled (*Liber*) *Annalis*, containing an epitome of Roman history from the earliest period to his own time, arranged according to years. Polybius, a very eminent historian (born

Marcello, Q. Fabio Labeone consulibus mortuum, in Annali suo scriptum reliquit, at Polybius L. Aemilio Paullo, Cn. Baebio Tamphilo; Sulpicius autem Blitho P. Cornelio Cethego, M. Baebio Tamphilo. Atque hic tantus vir tantisque bellis districtus nonnihil temporis tribuit litteris. Namque aliquot ejus libri sunt, Graeco sermone confecti;[1] in his ad Rhodios de Cn. Manlii Vulsonis in Asia rebus gestis. Hujus[2] belli gesta multi memoriae prodiderunt, sed ex his duo qui cum eo in castris fuerunt simulque vixerunt, quamdiu Fortuna passa est, Silenus et Sosilus Lacedaemonius.[3] Atque hoc Sosilo Hannibal litterarum Graecarum usus est doctore.

Sed nos tempus est hujus libri[4] facere finem, et Romanorum explicare imperatores, quo facilius, collatis utrorumque factis, qui viri praeferendi sint possit judicari.

about 204, died about 122 B. C.), was a native of Megalopolis in Arcadia. His principal work was a history of Rome (embracing also a history of those nations with whom she came in contact), from the second Punic War to the destruction of Carthage (146 B. C.) A part of this great work is extant, and is regarded as one of the most trustworthy of ancient historical records. Sulpicius Blitho is a writer quite unknown. The consuls here mentioned follow in a regular series of years: M. Claudius Marcellus and Q. Fabius Labeo, in 183 B. C.; L. Aemilius Paullus (son of him who fell at Cannae) and Cn. Baebius Tamphilus, in 182 B. C.; P. Cornelius Cethegus and M. Baebius Tamphilus (brother of Cnaeus), in 181 B. C. Now in which of these years did Hannibal die? If Nepos were correct in saying that Polybius fixed the event in 182 B. C., then to him we should at once give credit. But both from a fragment of Polybius's own work, and from a statement made by the Roman historian Livy, it appears pretty evident that Nepos, through some oversight, does not accurately quote Polybius's opinion, and that that great authority agrees with Atticus in placing the death in 183 B. C. This, therefore, may be taken as the correct date.

[1] Nepos alone mentions Hannibal's writings. Cn. Manlius Vulso, consul in 189 B. C., defeated the Galatians in Asia Minor.

[2] *Hujus* is for *Hannibalis*, governed by *belli*, and the war by pre-eminence, which Hannibal carried on, is of course that against the Romans.

[3] Of these writers scarcely anything is known, but what is mentioned here.

[4] Namely, the book *De Excellentibus Ducibus Exterarum Gentium*. The book *De Excellentibus Ducibus Romanorum*, to the composition of which the author says he intends now to proceed, is lost—the lives of Cato and Atticus, which follow, being a portion of the book *De Historicis Latinis*. See the Introduction.

EX LIBRO

DE HISTORICIS LATINIS.

XXIV. CATO.

1. M. Cato,[1] ortus municipio Tusculo,[2] adolescentulus, priusquam honoribus[3] operam daret, versatus est in Sabinis, quod ibi heredium[4] a patre relictum habebat. Inde hortatu L. Valerii Flacci, quem in consulatu censuraque habuit collegam,[5] ut M. Perpenna censorius[6] narrare solitus est, Romam demigravit, in foroque esse coepit.[7] Primum stipendium meruit,[8] annorum decem septemque. Q. Fabio, M. Claudio

[1] His name properly was M. Porcius, for the appellation of Cato—derived from an old Sabine word *catus*, 'sagacious'—is said to have been bestowed upon him on account of his wisdom and acuteness.

[2] Tusculum was an ancient Latin town, situated on the ridge of the Alban hills. It perished in the middle ages, but may be considered as represented by the town of Frascati, at the foot of the range.

[3] *Honores* here are, as very often, 'public offices.'

[4] A rare word, meaning 'a hereditary estate.'

[5] See chapter 2, beginning and middle.

[6] M. Perpenna (or Perperna) was consul in 92, and censor in 86 B.C. He died in 49 B.C., at the advanced age of ninety-eight. Nepos had probably himself heard this old man mention, that it was by the advice of Valerius that Cato had come to Rome, and Perpenna again might have heard it in his younger days from some one who had known Cato.

[7] That is, began to plead, for the purpose of gaining friends. This was a step towards obtaining office. Compare *Alcib.* 3, p. 56, n. 11.

[8] *Stipendium mereo*, 'I deserve pay'—that is, 'serve a campaign.' To govern *annorum* supply *adolescens*, 'when a youth.' The connection of numerals by *que* is rare in prose, *decem et septem* being the regular expression for 'seventeen.' Between the age of seventeen and forty-

consulibus[1] tribunus militum in Sicilia fuit. Inde ut rediit, castra secutus est P.[2] Claudii Neronis, magnique opera ejus existimata est in proelio apud Senam, quo cecidit Hasdrubal, frater Hannibalis. Quaestor obtigit P. Africano[3] consuli; cum quo non pro sortis necessitudine[4] vixit: namque ab eo perpetua dissensit vita. Aedilis plebi[5] factus est cum C. Helvio. Praetor provinciam obtinuit Sardiniam, ex qua, quaestor superiore tempore ex Africa decedens,[6] Q. Ennium poëtam deduxerat; quod non minoris existimamus, quam quemlibet amplissimum Sardiniensem triumphum.

2. Consulatum[7] gessit cum L. Valerio Flacco, sorte provinciam nactus Hispaniam citeriorem, exque ea triumphum deportavit. Ibi cum diutius moraretur, P. Scipio Africanus, consul iterum, cujus in priori consulatu[8] quaestor fuerat, voluit eum de provincia depellere, et ipse ei succedere, neque[9] hoc per senatum efficere potuit, cum quidem Scipio principatum in civitate obtineret; quod tum non potentia, sed jure

six, a Roman citizen was bound to serve in the army, if called upon. Cato served his first campaign in 217 B.C., the year after Hannibal came into Italy; and as he was then seventeen, we find the year of his birth to have been 234 B.C.

[1] That is, in 214 B.C., when Cato was twenty.

[2] A mistake for Caius. Claudius Nero was consul in 207 B.C., and his victory over Hasdrubal, at the river Metaurus, in Umbria, decided the issue of the second Punic War. Nepos speaks of the battle as on the Sena, a river in the same province, somewhat to the south-east of the Metaurus.

[3] This is the great P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal. Cato was his quaestor (that is, paymaster) in 204 B.C., in which year he was not consul, but proconsul, having been one of the consuls of the preceding year. The quaestors, after their election, usually decided by lot where each should serve: hence *obtigit*.

[4] 'In accordance with (on terms suitable to) the close connection of their position' (*sors*, because settled by lot.) The connection between a provincial governor and his quaestor was considered as of the closest description, and indeed the former was thought bound to treat the quaestor as kindly and affectionately as if he were his own son.

[5] Genitive for *plebei*, from the form *plebes*: *Gram.* § 73, n. 2; *Elem. Gram.* 58, 5. There were two classes of aediles—curule and plebeian. Cato's aedileship falls in 199 B.C.

[6] In his quaestorship he had served with Scipio, first in Sicily, then in Africa. Ennius (born 239 B.C. at Rudiae, in Calabria, a district of Apulia, died 169 B.C.) was the founder of Epic poetry among the Romans. What had led him to Sardinia we do not know.

[7] His consulship falls in 195 B.C., and his triumph in the following year.

[8] See above, n. 3.

[9] 'But—not.' See *Agesil.* 1, p. 129, n. 3.

respublica administrabatur. Qua ex rè iratus senatu,[1] consulatu peracto, privatus in urbe mansit. At Cato, censor[2] cum eodem Flacco factus, severe praefuit ei potestati. Nam et in complures nobiles animadvertit,[3] et multas res novas in edictum[4] addidit, quare[5] luxuria reprimeretur, quae jam tum incipiebat pullulare.[6] Circiter annos octoginta,[7] usque ad extremam aetatem ab adolescentia, reipublicae causa suscipere inimicitias non destitit. A multis tentatus,[8] non modo nullum detrimentum existimationis fecit, sed quoad vixit, virtutum laude crevit.

3. In omnibus rebus singulari fuit industria. Nam et agricola sollers, et peritus jurisconsultus, et magnus imperator, et probabilis[9] orator, et cupidissimus litterarum[10] fuit. Quarum studium etsi senior[11] arripuerat, tamen tantum progressum fecit, ut non facile reperiri possit,[12] neque de Graecis neque de Italicis rebus, quod ei fuerit incognitum. Ab adolescentia confecit orationes. Senex historias scribere instituit. Earum sunt[13] libri septem. Primus continet res gestas regum populi

[1] For *senatui*. See *Alcib.* 6, p. 61, n. 2.

[2] In the year 184 B.C.

[3] *Animadverto in aliquem*, 'I pay attention against a person'—that is, 'I punish him.'

[4] All the higher magistrates were in the habit of publishing edicts, having reference to the particular department of public business connected with their respective offices. In the censorial edicts there was a number of standing regulations, transferred from one to another. Cato, however, added to these in his edict many stringent rules.

[5] Equivalent to *quibus* or *ut iis*. This use of *quare*, as well as its connection with a plural, is rare.

[6] Properly a poetical word.

[7] As Cato at his death (which occurred in 149 B.C.) was only eighty-five years of age, it is quite evident that Nepos considerably exaggerates in his statement here, for Cato was certainly not subject to the jealousies and hostilities incident to a statesman's life, at the age of five.

[8] That is, 'though attacked in courts of justice,' 'though accused.'

[9] 'Worthy of approbation,' 'respectable.' Nepos, in giving Cato this modified praise, judges him by the standard of the Ciceronian age of oratory. For his own time Cato was a very eminent orator.

[10] 'Of literature,' 'of literary pursuits.'

[11] 'When a pretty old man.' *Arripuerat* expresses the eagerness with which he betook himself to study.

[12] The present tense, because in the time of Nepos all Cato's writings were still extant, and from them the readers of this biography could themselves judge as to his success in his late-begun studies.

[13] We have now with regret to say *erant*, since of this valuable

Romani; secundus et tertius, unde quaeque civitas orta sit Italica;[1] ob quam rem omnes Origines videtur appellasse. In quarto autem bellum Poenicum[2] est primum; in quinto secundum. Atque haec omnia capitulatim sunt dicta. Reliquaque[3] bella pari modo persecutus est usque ad praeturam Servii Galbae, qui diripuit Lusitanos.[4] Atque horum bellorum duces non nominavit, sed sine nominibus res notavit.[5] In iisdem exposuit, quae in Italia Hispaniisque[6] aut fierent aut viderentur admiranda. In quibus multa industria et diligentia comparet, nulla doctrina.[7]

Hujus de vita et moribus plura in eo libro persecuti sumus, quem separatim de eo fecimus rogatu T. Pomponii Attici. Quare studiosos Catonis ad illud volumen delegamus.

historical work—called Origines, as Nepos mentions in the next sentence—there exist only fragments.

[1] In these two books, he probably related also the history of Rome from the expulsion of King Tarquin down to the first Punic War, that history being in fact little more than a narration of how the different Italian States were gradually merged in the empire of Rome.

[2] As to *Poenicus*, see *Hamilc.* 1, p. 164, n. 2. *Est*—that is, is described.

[3] As to this use of *-que*, see *Dion*, 3, p. 81, n. 2.

[4] Lusitania was a part of Hispania Ulterior (for the Romans divided Hispania into *Hispania Citerior* and *Ulterior*). In 151 and 150 B.C., Servius Galba, as praetor and propraetor, carried on war against the Lusitanians; and in the latter year he contrived, by the basest treachery, to get a great number of them into his power, and had them butchered. In the following year he was called to account at Rome for this outrage, and Cato—then in the last year of his life—attacked him most vehemently in the assembly.

[5] This can scarcely be quite true. It is probable that Cato, in narrating the events of a year, after once stating who were chosen consuls, praetors, &c., and what province each obtained, did not afterwards mention these magistrates by name, but merely by their titles.

[6] The two Spains, Hither and Further. See n. 4. *Quae admiranda aut fierent aut viderentur*, 'what wonderful things were either done (that is, actions, exploits) or seen (that is, natural phenomena.')

[7] 'Much industry and diligence are evident (shewn, exhibited), but no learning (scientific knowledge.') *Compāret* here is from *compareo*. By *nulla doctrina* Nepos intimates, that Cato merely stated facts and described phenomena without inquiring into causes.

XXV. ATTICUS.

1. T. POMPONIUS ATTICUS,[1] ab origine ultima stirpis Romanae generatus,[2] perpetuo[3] a majoribus acceptam equestrem obtinuit dignitatem. Patre usus est[4] diligente, et, ut tum erant tempora, diti, in primisque[5] studioso litterarum. Hic, prout ipse amabat litteras, omnibus doctrinis, quibus[6] puerilis aetas impertiri debet, filium erudivit. Erat autem in puero, praeter docilitatem ingenii, summa suavitas oris atque vocis,[7] ut non solum celeriter acciperet quae tradebantur, sed etiam excellenter pronunciaret. Qua ex re in pueritia nobilis inter aequales ferebatur, clariusque exsplendescebat[8] quam generosi[9] condiscipuli animo aequo ferre possent. Itaque incitabat omnes studio suo. Quo in numero fuerunt L. Torquatus,

[1] His name properly was simply T. Pomponius, Atticus being a surname given to him from his long residence in Athens, and his intimate acquaintance with the literature and manners of the Athenians. Compare *Cato*, 1, p. 182, n. 1.

[2] 'Sprung from the remotest origin of the Roman race'—that is, who could trace his ancestry up to the earliest period in the history of Rome. The mode of expression is peculiar. The *Gens Pomponia* boasted that it sprang from Pompo, a son of Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome.

[3] 'In an unbroken line.'

[4] 'Used,' 'experienced'—that is, 'enjoyed,' 'had.' *Diligens* here, as often, means 'economical.' See *Themist.* 1, p. 16, n. 10.

[5] *In primis*, or, written together, *inprimis* or *imprimis*, 'among the first (principal) things;' hence, 'especially,' 'particularly.'

[6] The dative: 'to which boyhood ought to be given up, or devoted.'

[7] 'Of articulation and voice.' Compare *Alcib.* 1, p. 54, n. 5.

[8] A word not found in other writers of the Golden Age of Latin literature.

[9] Here not 'nobly born,' but 'high-spirited.'

C. Marius filius, M. Cicero,[1] quos consuetudine sua[2] sic devinxit, ut nemo his perpetuo fuerit carior.

2. Pater mature decessit. Ipse adolescentulus propter affinitatem P. Sulpicii,[3] qui tribunus plebis interfectus est, non expers fuit illius[4] periculi. Namque[5] Anicia, Pomponii consobrina, nupserat Servio,[6] fratri Sulpicii. Itaque, interfecto Sulpicio, posteaquam vidit Cinnano[7] tumultu civitatem esse perturbatam, neque sibi dari facultatem pro dignitate vivendi, quin alterutram partem offenderet, dissociatis animis civium, cum alii Sullanis, alii Cinnanis faverent partibus, idoneum tempus ratus studiis obsequendi suis, Athenas se contulit. (Neque eo secius adolescentem Marium, hostem judicatum,[8] juvit opibus suis; cujus fugam pecunia sublevavit.[9]) Ac ne illa peregrinatio detrimentum aliquod afferret rei familiari, eodem[10] magnam partem fortunarum trajecit suarum. Hic ita vixit, ut universis Atheniensibus merito

[1] All men of eminence. L. Manlius Torquatus was consul in 65 B.C.: C. Marius, son of the great C. Marius (hence *filius*, 'the son' or 'the Younger'), was consul in 82 B.C.: M. Cicero is the great Cicero, the 'Father of his country.'

[2] 'In intimacy, close friendship, with him.'

[3] P. Sulpicius Rufus, a very eminent orator, and a leader of the Marian party, was put to death by order of Sulla in 88 B.C. Atticus was only twenty-one at the time, for he was born in 109 B.C.

[4] That is, *Sulpicii*, governed by *periculi*.

[5] *Namque* explains the *affinitas*.

[6] That is, Servius being a praenomen, Servius Sulpicius, the brother of Publius. Similarly we find mention made of 'Quintus, the brother of Cicero'—that is, of M. Cicero, *the* Cicero.

[7] L. Cornelius Cinna was the coadjutor of C. Marius, as leader of the popular party. In 87 B.C., when he was consul, he was compelled by the senatorial faction to leave Rome, and was unconstitutionally deposed from his office. Marius and Cinna, however, returned against the city with a strong force, and compelled the senate to yield.

[8] 'When declared a public enemy.'

[9] This clause appears tautological, since we cannot well make a distinction between *opes* and *pecunia*. The relative clause, however, may be considered as defining the mode of assistance more particularly, and the sense will be best brought out thus: 'inasmuch as he assisted his flight (that is, him in his flight, or when about to flee) with money.' This whole sentence is parenthetic, for the flight of young Marius took place in 88 B.C., at least two years before Atticus left Rome for Athens. *Neque eo secius*, therefore, refers not to his going to Athens, but to the fact intimated in the preceding sentence, that he was anxious to offend neither the party of Marius nor that of Sulla.

[10] '*To the* same place'—namely, Athens.

esset carissimus. Nam praeter gratiam,[1] quae jam in adolescentulo magna erat, saepe suis opibus inopiam eorum publicam levavit. Cum enim versuram facere[2] publice necesse esset, neque ejus conditionem aequam haberent, semper se interposuit, atque ita, ut neque usuram iniquam ab his acceperit, neque longius quam dictum esset debere passus sit. Quod utrumque erat his salutare. Nam neque indulgendo inveterascere eorum aes alienum patiebatur, neque multiplicandis usuris[3] crescere. Auxit hoc officium alia quoque liberalitate. Nam universos frumento donavit, ita ut singulis septem modii tritici darentur; qui modus mensurae[4] medimnus Athenis appellatur.

3. Hic autem sic se gerebat, ut communis[5] infimis, par principibus videretur. Quo factum est, ut huic omnes honores, quos possent, publice haberent, civemque facere studerent; quo beneficio ille uti noluit, quod nonnulli ita interpretantur, amitti civitatem Romanam, alia ascita.[6] Quamdiu affuit, ne qua sibi statua poneretur restitit; absens prohibere non potuit. Itaque aliquot ipsi et Phidiae[7] locis sanctissimis posuerunt: hunc enim in omni procuratione reipublicae actorem auctoremque[8] habebant. Igitur primum illud munus Fortunae, quod in ea potissimum urbe natus est, in qua domicilium orbis terrarum esset imperii,[9] ut eandem

1 'Besides his influence'—that is, besides exerting his influence in favour of the Athenians.

2 *Versura* is literally 'a turning,' hence 'a turning over of money,' and hence *versuram facere* is 'to borrow money.' *Versurā solvere* means 'to pay a debt by borrowing the money from another person.'

3 'By increasing the interest' above what was just, *usuram iniquam accipiendo.*

4 Namely, seven *modii*, not one *modius*. The common estimate is, that a Greek *medimnus* (μέδιμνος) was equal to six Roman *modii*; the truth probably lies between six and seven.

5 As to the meaning of *communis*, see *Milt.* 8, p. 14, n. 10.

6 'Because some give this interpretation (of the law), that Roman citizenship is lost when the freedom of another state is accepted.' This was undoubtedly the law, and Nepos, by his uncertainty in regard to it, shews himself to have been somewhat unlearned in jurisprudence.

7 This Phidias is quite unknown, though he must have been a man of eminence, for the following clause, *hunc—habebant*, refers to him.

8 *Auctor* is the man who devises, expounds, or recommends a project; *actor*, the man who carries it into execution, who *does* the thing. Logically, therefore, *auctorem* should stand before *actorem*.

9 *Domicilium imperii orbis terrarum* presents a somewhat awkward

propriam haberet domum:[1] hoc[2] specimen prudentiae, quod, cum in eam se civitatem contulisset, quae antiquitate, humanitate, doctrinaque praestaret omnes, unus ei fuit carissimus.

4. Huc ex Asia Sulla decedens[3] cum venisset, quamdiu ibi fuit, secum habuit Pomponium, captus adolescentis et humanitate et doctrina. Sic enim Graece loquebatur, ut Athenis natus videretur; tanta autem suavitas erat sermonis Latini, ut appareret[4] in eo nativum quendam leporem esse, non ascitum. Idem poëmata[5] pronuntiabat et Graece et Latine sic, ut supra nihil posset addi. Quibus rebus factum est, ut Sulla nusquam ab se dimitteret, cuperetque secum deducere. Qui[6] cum persuadere tentaret, 'Noli,[7] oro te,' inquit Pomponius, 'adversum eos me velle ducere, cum quibus ne contra te arma ferrem, Italiam reliqui.'[8] At Sulla, adolescentis officio[9] collaudato, omnia munera ei, quae Athenis acceperat, proficiscens jussit deferri.

Hic complures annos moratus, cum et rei familiari tantum operae daret, quantum non indiligens deberet[10] paterfamilias, et omnia reliqua tempora aut litteris aut Atheniensium reipublicae tribueret, nihilo minus amicis urbana officia[11]

accumulation of genitives, each depending on the preceding. *Gram.* § 276, n. 4.

[1] 'So that he had it (Rome) as his proper home,' in opposition to Athens, where circumstances had made him take up his abode.

[2] To *hoc* supply *est*, as also in the beginning of the sentence to *illud*.

[3] In 84 B.C., after his conquest of Mithridates, king of Pontus.

[4] Observe the difference between *videretur* and *appareret*. The former indicates that one who did not pay very close attention might readily *suppose* him to be a native of Athens; the other, that Latin was *evidently* his vernacular language.

[5] Not his own, but those of others.

[6] Namely, Sulla.

[7] *Noli* with the infinitive is often used for the more direct *ne* with the imperative or subjunctive. *Gram.* § 369, n. 2. Even *noli velle* occurs not unfrequently.

[8] For Sulla was going to Italy, to attack the Marian party, among whom Atticus had friends.

[9] 'Conscientiousness,' 'regard for duty.'

[10] 'Would be bound'—namely, if he were in the situation of Atticus. *Non indiligens:* in this, as in other respects, Atticus followed in his father's footsteps; see chapter 1, p. 186, n. 4.

[11] *Urbana officia* here are 'such services or kind offices as could be performed only in the city (at Rome.') He shews in the next sentence what he means.

praestitit. Nam et ad comitia eorum[1] ventitavit, et, si qua res major acta est, non defuit. Sicut[2] Ciceroni in omnibus ejus periculis singularem fidem praebuit; cui ex patria fugienti[3] sestertium ducenta et quinquaginta milia donavit.[4] Tranquillatis autem rebus Romanis, remigravit Romam, ut opinor, L. Cotta et L. Torquato consulibus.[5] Quem diem sic universa civitas Atheniensium prosecuta est,[6] ut lacrimis desiderii futuri dolorem indicaret.

5. Habebat avunculum Q. Caecilium, equitem Romanum, familiarem L. Luculli,[7] divitem, difficillima[8] natura. Cujus sic asperitatem veritus est,[9] ut, quem nemo ferre posset, hujus sine offensione ad summam senectutem retinuerit benevolentiam. Quo facto tulit pietatis fructum. Caecilius enim moriens testamento adoptavit eum heredemque fecit ex dodrante;[10] ex qua hereditate accepit circiter centies sestertium.[11] Erat nupta soror Attici Q. Tullio

[1] 'Their *comitia*'—that is, *comitia* in which anything of importance to them was to be discussed.

[2] 'Thus, for instance.'

[3] This proof of his affection for Cicero is introduced by the way, for Cicero's banishment did not take place till 58 B.C.—a number of years after Atticus took up his permanent residence in Rome.

[4] A sestertius being equal to about twopence English—this was a goodly present, about L.2000. As to the form *sestertium* for *sestertiorum*, see *Gram.* § 58, n. 5.

[5] Cotta and Torquatus were consuls in 65 B.C., the year in which the poet Horace was born.

[6] 'The whole city so accompanied that day;' a needlessly bold expression for 'the whole city so conducted itself (or citizens—themselves) during the course of that day.'

[7] L. Lucullus was a very distinguished general in the war against Mithridates, king of Pontus.

[8] A *difficilis homo* is one who is difficult to manage or to please, 'surly,' 'morose.'

[9] *Vereri* here, as in the beginning of chapter 15, is equivalent to *revereri*. The meaning is, that Atticus honoured and respected his uncle so much, that he bore patiently with all his odd humours.

[10] *Dodrans*, which is contracted for *dequadrans*—that is, *dempto quadrante*, 'a fourth being taken away'—is three-fourths of an *as* or Roman pound. But the *as* is also taken generally as a unit to represent the whole of anything, as of property; whence *heres ex asse* is 'heir to the whole estate,' and *heres ex dodrante* 'heir to three-fourths of the estate.'

[11] As to the genitive *sestertium*, see above, n. 4. It is governed by *centena milia* understood, for these words are usually omitted in the statement of large sums of money, the numeral adverb alone being expressed. 'A hundred times a hundred thousand sesterces' (that is, ten millions) are about L.80,000.

Ciceroni,[1] easque nuptias M. Cicero conciliarat, cum quo a condiscipulatu[2] vivebat conjunctissime, multo etiam familiarius quam cum Quinto, ut judicari possit, plus in amicitia valere similitudinem morum quam affinitatem. Utebatur autem intime Q. Hortensio, qui his temporibus principatum eloquentiae tenebat;[3] ut intelligi non posset, uter eum[4] plus diligeret, Cicero an Hortensius, et, id quod erat difficillimum, efficiebat, ut, inter quos tantae laudis esset aemulatio, nulla intercederet obtrectatio,[5] essetque[6] talium virorum copula.

6. In republica ita est versatus, ut semper optimarum partium et esset et existimaretur, neque tamen se civilibus fluctibus committeret, quod non magis eos in sua potestate existimabat esse, qui se his dedissent, quam qui maritimis jactarentur. Honores[7] non petiit, cum ei paterent propter vel gratiam vel dignitatem, quod neque peti more majorum neque capi possent conservatis legibus,[8] in tam effusi ambitus largitionibus, neque geri e republica[9] sine periculo, corruptis civitatis moribus. Ad hastam publicam[10] nunquam accessit.

[1] The brother of M. Cicero, the orator. This marriage was a very unhappy one.

[2] 'Companionship at school:' see chapter 1, end. *Condiscipulatus* is an extremely rare word.

[3] He was eight years older than Cicero, but the latter had not been very long in public life before Hortensius was considered as only second in oratory.

[4] Namely, Atticus.

[5] Here we have the distinction between *aemulatio* and *obtrectatio* broadly marked: the former is 'honourable rivalry,' the latter, 'mean, unbrotherly intriguing for superiority.' However, that *obtrectatio* has not always a bad meaning is seen in *Arist.* 1, p. 32, n. 3.

[6] The subject of *esset* is 'he,' Atticus.

[7] 'Offices.' See *Cato*, 1, p. 183, n. 3.

[8] 'Because they could neither be sought according to the manner of our ancestors (that is, by fair and honourable canvassing), nor obtained without breaking the laws (against bribery.') The second part of the clause means pretty nearly the same as the first, and seems to be introduced merely to give a roundness to the sentence. The state of the Roman republic, just before it sunk into the Empire, was fearfully corrupt.

[9] *E republica* is a phrase meaning 'for the true good of the commonwealth.'

[10] 'To a public auction.' A spear was set up at the spot where a sale by auction was going on; hence such phrases as *vendere sub hasta*, 'to sell by auction,' &c. The reference here is to the sales—frequent at this troubled period of Roman history—of the confiscated goods of proscribed persons. It was justly considered disreputable to bid for the property of these unfortunates. Those who did so had the name

Nullius rei neque praes neque manceps[1] factus est. Neminem neque suo nomine neque subscribens[2] accusavit; in jus de sua re nunquam iit; judicium nullum habuit.[3] Multorum consulum praetorumque praefecturas[4] delatas sic accepit, ut neminem in provinciam sit secutus, honore fuerit contentus, rei familiaris despexerit fructum;[5] qui[6] ne cum Q. quidem Cicerone voluerit ire in Asiam, cum apud eum legati[7] locum obtinere posset. Non enim decere se arbitrabatur, cum praeturam gerere noluisset, asseclam esse praetoris. Qua in re non solum dignitati serviebat, sed etiam tranquillitati, cum suspiciones quoque vitaret criminum.[8] Quo fiebat, ut

of *sectores*. *Publicam* is added to *hastam*, to indicate the kind of auction meant—one by order of a magistrate.

[1] *Manceps* is 'a purchaser or hirer,' 'one who takes on lease;' *praes*, 'one who is security for a *manceps*.' *Praes* is distinguished from *vas*, as being 'a security' in money-matters, whilst the latter is 'a bail' in criminal trials. The reference here is to the bidding for the farming of the Roman revenues—for it must be understood that the Roman state did not collect its revenues directly, as our government does, but let out the collection to wealthy capitalists, called *publicani*, who agreed to pay a certain sum into the treasury. These *publicani* were generally of the equestrian order, to which Atticus belonged. As we know from other sources that Atticus did lay out money in this manner, Nepos's statement can mean merely, that he did not put himself prominently forward, or come directly into connection with the government.

[2] Among the Romans there were often several accusers—the principal, who acted *suo nomine*, and others, who signed the libel in token that they gave him their countenance and support, and hence were called *subscriptores*.

[3] 'He held no trial.' When lawsuits were brought before the praetor at Rome, it was customary for him to appoint a person (or several, if the case required it) as umpire, *judex*, to inquire into the matter, and pronounce judgment. Nepos means here, therefore, that Atticus contrived to escape ever being appointed such a *judex*.

[4] The *praefecti* of a provincial governor were officers of rank. *Sic*, 'on such terms.' He accepted the office on condition that it should be a sinecure.

[5] *Fructus rei familiaris* is naturally 'the advantage derived from money:' here, however, it is 'the improving or increasing of his property' by the wealth which he might acquire by going to a province.

[6] *Qui—voluerit:* see *Hann.* 1, p. 168, n. 5. *Ne cum Q. quidem Cicerone*, 'not even with Q. Cicero,' though married to the sister of Atticus. Quintus went as propraetor to Asia in 61 B.C.

[7] The *legati* of a provincial governor were the officers next in rank to himself, his lieutenants.

[8] Of such crimes as rapacity, cruelty, &c., for which the Roman governors were often and justly blamed.

ejus observantia[1] omnibus esset carior, cum eam officio, non timori neque spei, tribui viderent.

7. Incidit Caesarianum civile bellum,[2] cum haberet annos circiter sexaginta. Usus est aetatis vacatione,[3] neque se quoquam movit ex urbe. Quae amicis suis opus fuerant, ad Pompeium proficiscentibus, omnia ex sua re familiari dedit. Ipsum Pompeium conjunctum[4] non offendit. Nullum ab eo habebat ornamentum,[5] ut ceteri, qui per eum aut honores aut divitias ceperant; quorum partim[6] invitissimi castra sunt secuti, partim summa cum ejus offensione domi remanserunt. Attici autem quies[7] tantopere Caesari fuit grata, ut victor, cum privatis pecunias per epistolas imperaret, huic non solum molestus non fuerit, sed etiam sororis filium et Q. Ciceronem[8] ex Pompeii castris concesserit. Sic vetere instituto vitae effugit nova pericula.

8. Secutum est illud,[9] occiso Caesare, cum respublica penes Brutos videretur esse et Cassium, ac tota civitas se ad eos convertisse videretur.[10] Sic M. Bruto usus est,[11] ut nullo ille

[1] 'His deference' to others. As to *officio*, see chapter 4, p. 190, n. 9.

[2] The war between Caesar and Pompey, which broke out in 49 B.C.

[3] 'He took advantage of the exemption (from military service) which his age gave him.' See *Cato*, 1, p. 183, n. 8.

[4] Namely, *amicitia* or *consuetudine*. *Non offendit*, by remaining in the city.

[5] Here 'an office of honour.' Pompey had been for some time the most influential man in Rome.

[6] *Partim* is properly an old form of the accusative of *pars*, but is sometimes used in the same sense as *alii—alii*, 'some—others,' as here.

[7] 'The inactivity'—that is, 'neutrality.'

[8] 'His sister's son and Q. Cicero'—that is (see chapter 5), 'his sister's son and husband.' *Huic concesserit*—that is, pardoned for his sake.

[9] *Illud* is here used substantively, 'that well-known state of affairs,' 'that celebrated time.' Julius Caesar, unquestionably the greatest man that Rome ever produced, was murdered on the 15th of March 44 B.C., by a band of conspirators, among whom M. Junius Brutus and C. Cassius were the chief. Another Brutus, named D. Junius Brutus Albinus, was also involved in the plot. Many of the more enthusiastic Romans considered the murder of their dictator as the commencement of an era of liberty, and therefore honoured the perpetrators of the deed.

[10] *Videretur—videretur.* This repetition is very slovenly and disagreeable.

[11] Namely, Atticus. He had been intimate with Brutus also before this time. *Adolescens:* Brutus was forty-one at this period, having been born in 85 B.C. We see, therefore, that *adolescentia* among the Romans was a considerably more comprehensive term than 'youth'

adolescens aequali familiarius quam hoc sene, neque solum eum principem consilii haberet, sed etiam in convictu.[1] Excogitatum est a quibusdam, ut privatum aerarium Caesaris interfectoribus ab equitibus Romanis constitueretur.[2] Id facile effici posse arbitrati sunt, si principes ejus ordinis pecunias contulissent. Itaque appellatus est[3] a C. Flavio, Bruti familiari, Atticus, ut ejus rei princeps esse vellet. At ille, qui officia amicis praestanda sine factione[4] existimaret, semperque a talibus se consiliis removisset, respondit, si quid Brutus de suis facultatibus uti voluisset, usurum, quantum hae paterentur; se neque cum quoquam de ea re collocuturum, neque coïturum.[5] Sic ille consensionis globus hujus unius dissensione disjectus est. Neque multo post superior esse coepit Antonius,[6] ita ut Brutus et Cassius, provinciarum quae his dicis causa datae erant a consule[7] . . . . , desperatis rebus, in exilium proficiscerentur. Atticus, qui pecuniam simul cum ceteris conferre noluerat florenti illi parti, abjecto[8]

with us. To *adolescens* supply *uteretur* from the preceding *usus est*. As to *aequali*, see *Arist.* 1, p. 32, n. 1.

1 Repeat *haberet* merely, not *principem haberet*.

2 'That a private fund should be made up by the Roman knights for the murderers of Caesar' (as a reward for their exploit). Such a contribution on the part of the *equites* (who were the moneyed men or capitalists of Rome) would of course be equivalent to a declaration that they sided with the conspirators. This use of *aerarium*, which properly is 'the public treasury,' is rare, if not unique; but the epithet, *privatum*, renders its meaning sufficiently clear.

3 'Entreated,' 'requested,' as occasionally.

4 'Without party-spirit,' 'without publicly siding with any party.' It is evident that Atticus was a very timid man, anxious to keep peace with all parties.

5 *Colloqui* is 'to converse upon,' 'discuss;' *coire*, 'to have a (formal) conference.' The absence of a 'but' (*sed* or *at*) at the beginning of this clause gives strength.

6 M. Antonius, a friend of Caesar, and a man of talent and energy, but an unprincipled profligate, became by intrigue, a short time after his patron's murder, the most powerful man in Rome, till young Octavianus, afterwards called Augustus, Julius Caesar's grand-nephew, came to the city, and contrived to obtain the good-will both of the senate and of his uncle's veteran soldiers.

7 Namely, Antony. He had a colleague, P. Cornelius Dolabella, son-in-law of Cicero, but Antony was in reality the ruler of the state; hence the singular. There seems to be a slight gap here, something being required to govern *provinciarum: administratione neglecta*, or similar words, must be supplied. It is uncertain what were the provinces assigned to Brutus and Cassius.

8 'When cast down,' 'when in adversity.'

Bruto Italiaque cedenti sestertium centum milia[1] muneri misit, eidem in Epiro[2] absens trecenta jussit dari: neque eo magis potenti adulatus est Antonio, neque desperatos reliquit.

9. Secutum est bellum gestum apud Mutinam.[3] In quo si tantum eum prudentem dicam, minus quam debeam praedicem, cum ille potius divinus[4] fuerit, si divinatio appellanda est perpetua naturalis bonitas, quae nullis casibus agitur[5] neque minuitur. Hostis Antonius judicatus Italia cesserat; spes restituendi[6] nulla erat. Non solum inimici, qui tum erant potentissimi et plurimi, sed etiam qui adversariis ejus se dabant,[7] et in eo laedendo aliquam consecuturos sperabant commoditatem, Antonii familiares insequebantur, uxorem Fulviam omnibus rebus spoliare cupiebant, liberos etiam extinguere parabant.[8] Atticus, cum Ciceronis intima familiaritate uteretur, amicissimus esset Bruto, non modo nihil[9] his indulsit ad Antonium violandum, sed e contrario familiares ejus ex urbe profugientes, quantum potuit, texit, quibus rebus indiguerunt, adjuvit. P. vero Volumnio ea tribuit, ut plura a parente proficisci non potuerint. Ipsi autem Fulviae, cum litibus distineretur magnisque terroribus

[1] About L.800. As to the construction *Bruto muneri misit*, see *Gram.* § 270; *Elem. Gram.* 289.

[2] This belongs to *eidem*, not to *absens*: 'when he (Brutus) was in Epirus.'

[3] Mutina (now Modena), a town in the south of Cisalpine Gaul. Antony, towards the end of the year 44 B.C., laid siege to Mutina, into which Decimus Brutus had thrown himself. While he was thus engaged, however, he was declared by the senate a public enemy, and Octavianus and the consuls Hirtius and Pansa commenced warlike operations against him in the beginning of 43 B.C. Several battles were fought; and at last, about the end of April, Antony was completely defeated in a battle near Mutina, and forced to cross the Alps into Gaul.

[4] 'Possessed of the power of divination,' as is shewn by what follows.

[5] Equivalent to *agitatur*, 'is shaken,' 'loses its equanimity.'

[6] The gerund is here employed in a passive sense, 'of his being restored.' This use occurs occasionally, but not often, in good authors. See *Gram.* § 396, n. 5.

[7] *Dare se alicui*, 'to give one's self up to a person;' that is, 'to act so as to please him.'

[8] *Paro* with the infinitive is not a very common construction, but does occur sometimes.

[9] 'In nothing,' the accusative of reference: *Gram.* § 259, 2, n. 2. *Ad Antonium violandum* is equivalent to *ut Antonium violaret*, 'so as to injure Antony.'

vexaretur, tanta diligentia officium suum praestitit, ut nullum illa stiterit vadimonium sine Attico, sponsor omnium rerum fuerit.[1] Quin etiam, cum illa fundum secunda fortuna emisset in diem,[2] neque post calamitatem versuram facere potuisset, ille se interposuit pecuniamque sine fenore sineque ulla stipulatione credidit, maximum existimans quaestum, memorem[3] gratumque cognosci, simulque aperire, se non fortunae sed hominibus solere esse amicum. Quae cum faciebat, nemo eum temporis causa[4] facere poterat existimare. Nemini enim in opinionem veniebat[5] Antonium rerum potiturum. Sed sensim[6] is a nonnullis optimatibus, familiaribus ejus, reprehendebatur, quod parum odisse malos cives videretur. Ille autem sui judicii,[7] potius quid se facere par esset, intuebatur, quam quid alii laudaturi forent.

10. Conversa subito fortuna est. Ut Antonius rediit in Italiam,[8] nemo non magno in periculo Atticum putarat, propter intimam familiaritatem Ciceronis et Bruti. Itaque ad adventum imperatorum[9] de foro decesserat,[10] timens proscriptionem, latebatque apud P. Volumnium, cui, ut

[1] As Atticus is the subject of *fuerit*, *hic* should have been expressed at the beginning of the clause, as antithetic to *illa*.

[2] 'For a particular day;' that is, 'which was to be paid for on a certain day.' As to *versuram facere*, see chapter 2, p. 189, n. 2.

[3] Namely, *beneficiorum*. *Gratus* is one who, being *memor*, shews his gratitude.

[4] That is, 'as a time-server,' paying court to the party in power. The truth is, that Atticus was a man of great sagacity; and perceiving that, in such a confusion of affairs as then existed, each party might have the ascendancy in turn, he took care to keep on good terms with all.

[5] As to this mode of expression, see *Milt.* 7, p. 13, n. 3.

[6] *Sensim reprehendebatur*, 'began gradually to be reproved;' that is, 'a feeling of dissatisfaction gradually arose.'

[7] Supply *vir*, 'being a man of his own judgment;' that is, 'a man who judged for himself,' 'a man of independent mind.'

[8] Antony, after his retreat into Gaul (chapter 9, p. 196, n. 3), was joined by M. Aemilius Lepidus with a powerful army, and recrossed the Alps. Octavianus met them at Bononia (now Bologna), a town in Cisalpine Gaul, not far from Mutina, and there, towards the end of the year (43 B.C.), the celebrated league was concluded, by which these generals declared themselves *triumviri reipublicae constituendae* for five years. Proscriptions were immediately resolved upon, and among others the great Cicero fell a victim to the vengeance of Antony.

[9] 'At (or upon) the arrival of the generals (in Rome),' a use of *ad* which is not very common. The generals meant are the triumvirs.

[10] That is, he had given up appearing in public.

ostendimus,[1] paulo ante opem tulerat (tanta varietas his temporibus fuit fortunae, ut modo hi, modo illi in summo essent aut fastigio aut periculo), habebatque secum Q. Gellium Canum, aequalem simillimumque sui. Hoc quoque sit Attici bonitatis exemplum, quod cum eo, quem puerum in ludo cognorat, adeo conjuncte vixit, ut ad extremam aetatem amicitia eorum creverit. Antonius autem, etsi tanto odio ferebatur[2] in Ciceronem, ut non solum ei sed etiam omnibus ejus amicis esset inimicus, eosque vellet proscribere, multis hortantibus,[3] tamen Attici memor fuit officii, et ei, cum requisisset[4] ubinam esset, sua manu scripsit, ne timeret statimque[5] ad se veniret: se eum et illius causa Canum de proscriptorum numero exemisse. Ac, ne quod periculum incideret, quod noctu fiebat, praesidium ei misit. Sic Atticus in summo timore non solum sibi sed etiam ei, quem carissimum habebat, praesidio fuit. Neque enim suae solum a quoquam auxilium petiit salutis, sed[6] ut appareret nullam sejunctam sibi ab eo velle fortunam. Quod si gubernator praecipua laude fertur,[7] qui navem ex hieme marique scopuloso servat, cur non singularis ejus existimetur[8] prudentia, qui ex tot tamque gravibus procellis civilibus ad incolumitatem pervenit?

11. Quibus ex malis ut se emersit,[9] nihil aliud egit, quam ut plurimis, quibus rebus posset, esset auxilio. Cum proscriptos praemiis[10] imperatorum vulgus conquireret, nemo in

[1] About the middle of the preceding chapter.

[2] As to the use of *feror*, compare *Alcib.* 9, p. 64, n. 7.

[3] 'Though many advised it;' namely, the proscription of Atticus.

[4] 'When he had asked,' and ascertained; for what is properly merely the antecedent, here includes the consequent.

[5] Out of *ne* take *ut*, to govern *veniret*. Observe that *scripsit* is followed first by *ne* with the subjunctive, and afterwards by the accusative with the infinitive: the reason being, that in the former case there is a command; in the latter, a statement of fact.

[6] To *sed* we supply *ita auxilium petiit*. Construe the following words thus: *ut appareret (eum) velle sibi nullam fortunam sejunctam ab eo (amico carissimo, Cano)*; that is, 'that it was evident that he (Atticus) wished for himself no (good) fortune in which his friend did not share.'

[7] Equivalent to *effertur*. See *Lysand.* 4, p. 53, n. 4.

[8] *Cur non—existimetur: Gram.* § 349; *Elem. Gram.* 348, 3.

[9] *Emergo* is generally used as a neuter verb, whilst *mergo* and *immergo* are active. However *se emergere* does occur, even in Cicero.

[10] For *propter praemia*: see *Conon*, 3, p. 75, n. 2. Here, as in the

Epirum[1] venit, cui res ulla defuerit, nemini non ibi perpetuo manendi potestas facta est: qui etiam post proelium Philippense[2] interitumque C. Cassii et M. Bruti L. Julium Mocillam praetorium et filium ejus Aulumque Torquatum[3] ceterosque pari fortuna perculsos instituerit tueri, atque ex Epiro his omnia Samothraciam[4] supportari jusserit. Difficile est omnia persequi, et non necessarium. Illud unum intelligi volumus, illius liberalitatem neque temporariam[5] neque callidam fuisse. Id ex ipsis rebus ac temporibus judicari potest, quod non florentibus se venditavit, sed afflictis semper succurrit; qui quidem Serviliam, Bruti matrem, non minus post mortem ejus quam florentem[6] coluerit. Sic liberalitate utens nullas inimicitias gessit, quod neque laedebat quemquam, neque, si quam injuriam acceperat, non malebat oblivisci quam ulcisci. Idem immortali memoria percepta retinebat beneficia; quae autem ipse tribuerat, tamdiu meminerat, quoad ille gratus erat, qui acceperat. Itaque hic fecit, ut vere dictum videatur,

Sui cuique mores fingunt fortunam hominibus.[7]

beginning of the preceding chapter, the *imperatores* are the triumvirs, Antony, Octavianus, and Lepidus.

[1] Atticus had an estate in Epirus (compare chapter 14, end); and it would seem that, after his escape from proscription, he retired to it for a time.

[2] Philippi (now Filibah), a town in the east of Macedonia, where the republicans under Brutus and Cassius were defeated in the autumn of 42 B.C. by Octavianus and Antony. Strictly speaking, there were two battles, at an interval of about twenty days, Cassius falling in the one and Brutus in the other. *Qui* refers to Atticus.

[3] A. Manlius Torquatus was praetor in 52 B.C.

[4] An island in the Aegean Sea, south of Thrace. It was a seat of the worship of certain mysterious divinities, called Cabiri, and hence had the character of an asylum or sanctuary.

[5] That is, *temporibus accomodatam*, 'time-serving.' See chapter 9, p. 197, n. 4.

[6] 'Than when she was in prosperity;' that is, in her son's lifetime.

[7] This is a line (of the kind called *versus senarii iambici*, or iambic trimeters) taken from some unknown poet. The literal translation is: 'his own manners (conduct) make to each one his (good or ill) fortune to men;' which, more freely rendered, is 'every man has by his conduct the making of good or bad fortune to himself.' The *hominibus*, 'to or for men,' is added somewhat strangely, since there is already the dative *cuique*. However the *hominibus*, coming in at the end, seems to indicate the universality of the observation, 'for men,' 'for all men.' *Itaque* at the beginning of the sentence is for et ita.

Neque tamen ille prius fortunam quam se[1] ipse finxit; qui cavit, ne qua in re jure plecteretur.

12. His igitur rebus effecit, ut M. Vipsanius Agrippa,[2] intima familiaritate conjunctus adolescenti Caesari, cum propter suam gratiam et Caesaris potentiam nullius conditionis[3] non haberet potestatem, potissimum ejus deligeret affinitatem, praeoptaretque equitis Romani filiam generosarum[4] nuptiis. Atque harum nuptiarum conciliator fuit (non est enim celandum)[5] M. Antonius, triumvir reipublicae.[6] Cujus gratia cum augere possessiones posset suas, tantum afuit a cupiditate pecuniae, ut nulla in re usus sit ea, nisi in deprecandis amicorum aut periculis aut incommodis. Quod quidem sub ipsa proscriptione perillustre fuit. Nam cum L. Saufeii, equitis Romani, aequalis sui, qui complures annos, studio ductus philosophiae, habitabat Athenis, habebatque in Italia pretiosas possessiones, triumviri bona vendidissent, consuetudine ea qua tum res gerebantur, Attici labore atque industria factum est, ut eodem nuncio Saufeius fieret certior se patrimonium amisisse et recuperasse. Idem L. Julium Calidum,[7] quem post Lucretii Catullique

[1] *Se fingere*, 'to form one's self;' that is, 'to form one's character.'

[2] Agrippa (born in 63, died in 12 B.C.) was one of the most intimate friends of the Emperor Augustus, and one of the greatest men of the age. The Caesar here mentioned is Augustus, whose name originally was C. Octavius, but, after his adoption by his grand-uncle, became, according to Roman custom, C. Julius Caesar Octavianus, to which the surname of Augustus was afterwards added, as a mark of honour.

[3] 'Condition,' 'position,' here 'matrimonial position,' 'alliance,' as pretty frequently.

[4] *Generosus*, 'high-born,' is here in particular 'one whose family has belonged to the senatorial order, or borne high state-offices.' *Praeoptaret filiam—nuptiis:* here a person is compared to a thing, as to which Latin usage see *Chab.* 3, p. 94, n. 8.

[5] Nepos adds this, because, at the time he wrote, a strong ill-feeling, which resulted in a war, prevailed between Octavianus and Antony.

[6] A shortened form for the full title, *triumvir reipublicae constituendae.*

[7] Nothing of this poet's writings is extant. In regard to the high place which Nepos awards him among the poets of his age, we must remember that, at the time this was written (probably about 35 or 34 B.C.), neither Virgil nor Horace had attained the zenith of his fame. T. Lucretius Carus (born in 95, died about 55 B.C.) was the author of a philosophical poem, *De Rerum Natura*, and in majesty and sublimity the greatest of the Roman writers. Q. (or C.) Valerius Catullus (born in 87, died between 47 B.C. and the time when Nepos wrote) was a lyric and epigrammatic poet of very high genius. The works both of Lucretius and Catullus are extant. *Calidum multo*

mortem multo elegantissimum poëtam nostram tulisse aetatem vere videor posse contendere, neque minus virum bonum optimisque artibus eruditum; quem post proscriptionem equitum, propter magnas ejus Africanas possessiones, in proscriptorum numerum a P. Volumnio,[1] praefecto fabrum Antonii, absentem relatum expedivit. Quod in praesenti[2] utrum ei laboriosius an gloriosius fuerit, difficile fuit judicare, quod in eorum periculis non secus absentes quam praesentes amicos Attico esse curae cognitum est.

13. Neque vero ille vir minus bonus paterfamilias habitus est quam civis. Nam cum esset pecuniosus, nemo illo minus fuit emax, minus aedificator.[3] Neque tamen non in primis bene habitavit omnibusque optimis rebus[4] usus est. Nam domum habuit in colle Quirinali[5] Tamphilianam, ab avunculo hereditate relictam; cujus amoenitas non aedificio sed silva constabat. Ipsum enim tectum, antiquitus constitutum, plus salis[6] quam sumptus habebat; in quo nihil commutavit, nisi si quid vetustate coactus est.[7] Usus est familia,[8] si

elegantissimum poëtam nostra aetas tulit, 'our age has produced Calidus as by far its most elegant poet,' which is better expressed in our idiom thus, 'Calidus is by far the most elegant poet that our age has produced.' The order of construction in the relative clause is as follows: *quem videor posse contendere vere* ('to maintain with truth;' see *Themist.* 7, p. 25, n. 1) *nostram aetatem tulisse multo elegantissimum poëtam, post* ('since') *mortem Lucretii Catullique. Idem*, at the beginning of the sentence, has no verb. It should be the subject of *expedivit*, at the end, but the author has unthinkingly turned the last part into a relative clause.

1 See chapters 9, middle, and 10, near the beginning. *Fabrum* is the genitive plural, for *fabrorum: Gram.* § 58, n. 5. In the case of this word, the short form is the more common.

2 'For the moment,' 'at the time.' This is connected with *laboriosius an gloriosius fuerit.*

3 Most of the wealthy Romans at this period had a mania for buying land, pictures, statues, vases, and the like, and for building magnificent houses.

4 Relating to his dwelling and furniture.

5 One of the Seven Hills on which Rome was built. It was one of the most northerly of the hills.

6 *Sal*, properly, 'salt,' hence 'wit,' the seasoning of conversation. Now, as wit gives grace and charm to conversation, Nepos here applies *sal* to the grace and tastefulness of household arrangements. This use of the word appears somewhat forced, and is employed here probably merely on account of the alliteration in *salis* and *sumptus.*

7 Supply *commutare.*

8 *Familia*, being connected with *famulus*, is originally 'the band of slaves belonging to one master.' This is its use here.

utilitate judicandum est, optima; si forma, vix mediocri. Namque[1] in ea erant pueri[2] litteratissimi, anagnostae optimi et plurimi librarii, ut ne pedisequus quidem quisquam esset, qui non utrumque horum[3] pulchre facere posset, pari modo artifices ceteri, quos cultus domesticus desiderat, apprime[4] boni. Neque tamen horum quemquam, nisi domi natum domique factum,[5] habuit; quod est signum non solum continentiae sed etiam diligentiae. Nam et non intemperanter concupiscere, quod a plurimis videas,[6] continentis debet duci, et potius diligentia quam pretio parare non mediocris est industriae. Elegans, non magnificus; splendidus, non sumptuosus: omnique diligentia munditiam, non affluentiam affectabat. Supellex modica, non multa, ut in neutram partem conspici posset.[7] Nec praeteribo,[8] quamquam nonnullis leve visum iri putem: cum in primis lautus esset eques Romanus, et non parum liberaliter domum suam omnium ordinum homines invitaret, scimus[9] non amplius quam terna milia[10] peraeque in singulos menses ex ephemeride eum expensum sumptui ferre solitum.[11]

[1] *Namque* refers to *optima.*

[2] As to *puer*, see *Hannib.* 12, p. 180, n. 5. *Anagnostae*, 'readers,' and *librarii*, 'copyists,' 'transcribers,' are simply more particular descriptions of these *pueri litteratissimi*, and therefore 'namely' must be inserted.

[3] 'Both of these things,' namely, reading and writing, which we must take out of *anagnostae et librarii.*

[4] *Apprime*, 'particularly,' 'very,' an adverb from the old adjective *apprimus*, a strengthened form of *primus.*

[5] 'Made,' 'moulded,' 'trained,' 'educated.' Compare chapter 11, p. 200, n. 1.

[6] To *videas* supply *fieri.*

[7] 'So that it could not be looked at (attract notice, be stared at as singular) in either respect (either as being too fine or too mean.')

[8] Namely, 'the following fact.'

[9] *Scimus* and *ex ephemeride* are construed together. The separation is so unnatural, that we are disposed to attribute it rather to the blunder of a transcriber than to the author.

[10] 'Three thousand sesterces (scarcely L.25) regularly for each month'—that is, at the rate of three hundred a year—certainly a remarkably small expenditure for a man in the station of Atticus. The word *sestertium* is omitted, as frequently, this being the usual standard in reckoning money; just as we say 'three hundred a year,' omitting 'pounds.' *Peraeque* is a somewhat rare adverb, nearly equivalent to the simple *aeque.* It expresses the uniformity of the expenditure.

[11] 'That he used to carry to his account of outlay (this is *sumptus* here) as expended.' *Sumptui* is unnecessary.

Atque hoc non auditum sed cognitum praedicamus; saepe enim propter familiaritatem domesticis rebus interfuimus.

14. Nemo in convivio ejus aliud acroama audivit quam anagnosten; quod nos quidem jucundissimum arbitramur: neque unquam sine aliqua lectione apud eum coenatum est, ut non minus animo quam ventre convivae delectarentur. Namque eos vocabat,[1] quorum mores a suis non abhorrerent. Cum tanta pecuniae facta esset accessio,[2] nihil de quotidiano cultu mutavit, nihil de vitae consuetudine; tantaque usus est moderatione, ut neque in sestertio vicies,[3] quod a patre acceperat, parum se splendide gesserit, neque in sestertio centies affluentius vixerit quam instituerat, parique fastigio steterit[4] in utraque fortuna. Nullos habuit hortos, nullam suburbanam aut maritimam sumptuosam villam, neque in Italia, praeter Arretinum et Nomentanum,[5] rusticum praedium; omnisque ejus pecuniae reditus constabat in Epiroticis[6] et urbanis possessionibus. Ex quo cognosci potest, usum eum pecuniae non magnitudine sed ratione metiri solitum.[7]

[1] 'Invited,' as often.

[2] When he received his uncle's property: see chapter 5, beginning.

[3] 'In his two millions of sesterces;' that is, 'when he had two millions of sesterces.' *Sestertio* here is the ablative of *sestertium*, properly the genitive plural of *sestertius*, but which, being constantly employed in monetary calculation, as governed by *mille* (used substantively) or *milia*, came at last to be considered as a neuter noun, meaning 'a thousand *sestertii*,' and to be declined. Thus, *quinque sestertia* was said for *quinque milia sestertium*. In such a case as the present, however, where a numeral adverb is used, and where, had the genitive form *sestertium* been employed, we should have had to supply *centenis milibus* (see chapter 5, p. 191, n. 11,) we must consider *sestertium* to represent not a thousand but a hundred thousand.

[4] 'Stood on an equal eminence,' in regard to dignified conduct and manner of life.

[5] Arretium (now Arezzo) was an ancient town in the east of Etruria. Nomentum (now Mentana) was a town in the country of the Sabines, not far from Rome.

[6] Compare chapter 11, beginning. Nepos omits to mention that Atticus had a considerable business as a money-lender, as a bookseller (for the *pueri litteratissimi* spoken of in chapter 13 were employed in transcribing books for the public as well as for their master), and in other capacities. The truth is, that Atticus neglected no means of making money.

[7] 'That he was accustomed to measure (regulate) the use (expenditure) of his money, not by its amount (by the largeness of his fortune), but by reason;' that is, he did not spend much money, simply because

15. Mendacium neque dicebat, neque pati poterat.[1] Itaque ejus comitas non sine severitate erat, neque gravitas sine facilitate,[2] ut difficile esset intellectu, utrum eum amici magis vererentur[3] an amarent. Quidquid rogabatur, religiose[4] promittebat, quod non liberalis sed levis[5] arbitrabatur polliceri quod praestare non posset. Idem in nitendo,[6] cum semel annuisset, tanta erat cura,[7] ut non mandatam sed suam rem videretur agere. Nunquam suscepti negotii eum pertaesum est: suam enim existimationem in ea re agi[8] putabat; qua nihil habebat carius. Quo fiebat, ut omnia Ciceronum, Catonis, Q. Hortensii, Auli Torquati,[9] multorum praeterea equitum Romanorum negotia procuraret. Ex quo judicari poterat, non inertia sed judicio fugisse reipublicae procurationem.

16. Humanitatis[10] vero nullum afferre majus testimonium possum, quam quod adolescens idem seni Sullae[11] fuit jucundissimus, senex adolescenti M. Bruto, cum aequalibus autem suis Q. Hortensio et M. Cicerone sic vixit, ut judicare difficile sit, cui aetati fuerit aptissimus. Quamquam[12] eum praecipue dilexit Cicero, ut ne frater quidem ei Quintus[13] carior fuerit

he had it to spend, as many do, but spent only what he thought necessary for the gratification of his reasonable desires.

1 Compare *Epam.* 3, beginning.

2 'Courteousness,' 'kindliness.' Compare chapter 5, p. 191, n. 8.

3 Equivalent to *revererentur.* See chapter 5, p. 191, n. 9.

4 'With conscientiousness;' that is, he did not promise unless he believed himself able to perform.

5 Genitives, 'the act (or part) not of a liberal, but a light-minded or thoughtless man.'

6 'In striving'—namely, to fulfil his engagement.

7 Ablative, 'of so great carefulness.'

8 'Was concerned,' 'was at stake.' In this sense we can say either *existimatio agitur*, or *de existimatione agitur;* but the latter is the more common construction.

9 The *Cicerones* are the two brothers, Marcus and Quintus Cicero; Cato is M. Porcius Cato, great-grandson of Cato the Censor, and surnamed Uticensis from his committing suicide at Utica, a town of Africa, in 46 B.C.: as to Q. Hortensius, the orator, compare chapter 5, end; and as to Aulus Torquatus, see chapter 11, p. 191, n. 5.

10 This may be rendered here by 'adaptation to all classes of men.'

11 As to the intercourse between Atticus and the different individuals here mentioned, see chapters 4, 8, and 5.

12 'However,' as often.

13 'Cicero' is opposed to 'his brother Quintus,' whilst the proper opposition would have been 'Marcus' and 'Quintus.' Compare chapter 2, p. 188, n. 6.

aut familiarior. Ei rei sunt indicio, praeter eos libros, in quibus de eo facit mentionem, qui in vulgus sunt editi, undecim volumina epistolarum,[1] ab consulatu ejus usque ad extremum tempus ad Atticum missarum; quae qui[2] legat, non multum desideret historiam contextam eorum temporum. Sic enim omnia de studiis principum, vitiis ducum, mutationibus reipublicae perscripta sunt, ut nihil in his non appareat, et facile existimari possit, prudentiam quodammodo esse divinationem. Non enim Cicero ea solum, quae, vivo se, acciderunt, futura praedixit, sed etiam, quae nunc usu veniunt, cecinit[3] ut vates.

17. De pietate[4] autem Attici quid plura commemorem? cum hoc ipsum vere gloriantem audierim in funere matris suae, quam extulit annorum nonaginta,[5] annis septem et sexaginta se nunquam cum matre in gratiam redisse,[6] nunquam cum sorore fuisse in simultate, quam prope aequalem habebat. Quod est signum aut nullam unquam inter eos querimoniam intercessisse, aut hunc ea fuisse in suos indulgentia, ut, quos amare deberet, irasci eis nefas duceret. Neque id fecit natura solum, quamquam omnes ei paremus, sed etiam doctrina.[7] Nam principum philosophorum ita percepta habuit praecepta,[8] ut his ad vitam agendam, non ad ostentationem, uteretur.

18. Moris etiam majorum summus imitator fuit, antiquitatisque amator; quam adeo diligenter habuit cognitam, ut eam

[1] The letters from Cicero to Atticus, which are extant, are divided into sixteen, not eleven, books, and include a number written before Cicero's consulship. It would appear, therefore, that the collection known to Nepos was afterwards enlarged.

[2] Equivalent to *si quis:* hence the subjunctive. *Gram.* § 360, 5; *Elem. Gram.* 360, 5.

[3] *Cano* is very frequently used of the prophetic declarations of oracles and seers.

[4] As to *pietas* generally, see *Conon*, 5, p. 77, n. 2. Here it is 'kindness to relatives.' *Quid*, properly an accusative of reference, 'as to what,' 'in what respect,' is used here, as very often, in the sense of *cur*, 'why.' The Greek interrogative pronoun *τί* is used in the same way.

[5] Supply *mulierem*, 'when a woman of ninety.' *Annis septem et sexaginta*—that is, during his whole life.

[6] 'That he never had to return to favour (good terms) with his mother'—that is, that they had never quarrelled.

[7] 'From his (philosophical) learning'—that is, 'on principle.'

[8] *Percepta—praecepta* is disagreeable to the ear.

totam in eo volumine[1] exposuerit, quo magistratus ordinavit.[2] Nulla enim lex neque pax neque bellum neque res illustris est populi Romani, quae non in eo suo tempore sit notata, et, quod difficillimum fuit, sic familiarum originem subtexuit, ut ex eo clarorum virorum propagines possimus cognoscere. Fecit hoc idem separatim in aliis libris, ut M. Bruti rogatu Juniam familiam[3] a stirpe ad hanc aetatem ordine enumeraverit, notans qui a quoque[4] ortus, quos honores, quibusque temporibus cepisset, pari modo Marcelli Claudii de Marcellorum, Scipionis Cornelii et Fabii Maximi Fabiorum et Aemiliorum.[5] Quibus libris nihil potest esse dulcius iis, qui aliquam cupiditatem habent notitiae clarorum virorum. Attigit quoque poëticen, credimus, ne ejus expers esset suavitatis. Namque versibus, qui[6] honore rerumque gestarum amplitudine ceteros Romani populi praestiterunt, exposuit ita, ut sub singulorum imaginibus[7] facta magis-

[1] This is the *Annalis* mentioned in *Hann.* 13, on which see the note.

[2] That is, mentioned in chronological order the names of the principal magistrates of each year.

[3] M. Brutus belonged to the *gens Junia*, his full name being M. Junius Brutus. *Familia* is strictly a subdivision of a *gens*, but is nevertheless sometimes used, as here, for *gens* itself.

[4] *Quoque* is ablative from *quisque*, whereas *quibusque* is for *et quibus*. To *ortus* supply *esset*.

[5] These clauses, which are very elliptical, must be filled up thus: *pari modo Marcelli Claudii (rogatu) de (familia) Marcellorum, Scipionis Cornelii et Fabii Maximi (rogatu de familia) Fabiorum et Aemiliorum (librum scripserit.)* The omission of *de* before (*familia*) *Fabiorum et Aemiliorum* is somewhat awkward: compare *Chab.* 3, p. 94, n. 7. In *Marcelli Claudii* and *Scipionis Cornelii* the family name is put before the gentile, as occasionally. The Marcellus meant is probably C. Claudius Marcellus, consul in the year 50 B.C. The Scipio is P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, afterwards, from his adoption by Metellus Pius, called Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, consul in 52 B.C. Q. Fabius Maximus was consul in 45 B.C. Both Scipio and Fabius were interested in the *gens Aemilia*, because of the two sons of L. Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus one was adopted into the family of the Scipios, and the other into that of the Fabii Maximi.

[6] Before *qui* supply *de iis*: Compare *Dion*, 8, p. 86, n. 6. This omission is somewhat harsh, but Nepos probably intended to use not *exposuit*, but some such expression as *laudibus extulit*, with which the accusative *eos* would have been required.

[7] 'Under the bust of each.' It was customary for the Roman families to have busts of such of their ancestors as had held curule offices set up in the *atrium*, with suitable descriptive legends (*tituli*) attached to each. Atticus, who had no ancestors so dignified, appears from this passage to have adorned his house with figures of the most renowned Romans, to whatever family they belonged.

tratusque eorum non amplius quaternis quinisve versibus descripserit; quod vix credendum sit,[1] tantas res tam breviter potuisse declarari. Est etiam unus liber Graece confectus, de consulatu Ciceronis.

19. Hactenus Attico vivo edita a nobis sunt.[2] Nunc, quoniam Fortuna nos superstites ei esse voluit, reliqua persequemur, et, quantum potuerimus, rerum exemplis lectores docebimus, sicut supra[3] significavimus, suos cuique mores plerumque conciliare fortunam. Namque hic contentus ordine equestri, quo erat ortus, in affinitatem pervenit imperatoris Divi filii,[4] cum jam ante familiaritatem ejus esset consecutus nulla alia re quam elegantia vitae, qua ceteros ceperat principes civitatis dignitate pari, fortuna humiliores.[5] Tanta enim prosperitas Caesarem est consecuta, ut nihil ei non tribuerit Fortuna, quod cuiquam ante detulerit, et conciliarit, quod nemo adhuc civis Romanus quivit consequi. Nata est autem Attico neptis ex Agrippa, cui virginem filiam collocarat.[6] Hanc Caesar vix anniculam Ti. Claudio Neroni,[7] Drusilla nato, privigno suo, despondit; quae conjunctio necessitudinem[8] eorum sanxit, familiaritatem reddidit frequentiorem.

20. Quamvis[9] ante haec sponsalia non solum, cum ab urbe abesset, nunquam ad suorum quemquam litteras misit, quin Attico mitteret quid ageret, in primis quid legeret, quibusque in locis et quamdiu esset moraturus, sed etiam cum esset in urbe, et propter infinitas suas occupationes minus saepe

[1] As to the gerundive used with *vix* to express possibility, see *Gram.* § 397, note; and as to the potential subjunctive, *Gram.* § 348; *Elem. Gram.* 348, 2.

[2] That is, before 32 B.C. See chapter 22.

[3] See chapter 11, end.

[4] 'Of the emperor (Octavianus), son of the god (Julius Caesar.') It became customary to deify each emperor as soon as he died, but at the time Nepos wrote, there was no *divus* of this class except Julius Caesar, whose son Octavianus was by adoption.

[5] Than Octavianus. Such *principes* were Sulla, Brutus, Cicero, &c.

[6] See chapter 12.

[7] The successor of Augustus in the empire. His mother, whose full name was Livia Drusilla, was married first to his father, Tib. Claudius Nero, and afterwards to Octavianus.

[8] Here 'close friendship,' for no tie of relationship had existed between the emperor and Atticus.

[9] 'However,' like *quamquam* often.

quam vellet Attico frueretur, nullus dies temere intercessit,[1] quo non ad eum scriberet, cum modo aliquid de antiquitate ab eo requireret, modo aliquam quaestionem poëticam ei proponeret, interdum jocans ejus verbosiores eliceret epistolas. Ex quo accidit, cum aedis[2] Jovis Feretrii in Capitolio, ab Romulo constituta, vetustate atque incuria detecta,[3] prolaberetur, ut Attici admonitu Caesar eam reficiendam curaret. Neque vero a M. Antonio minus absens litteris colebatur, adeo ut accurate ille ex ultimis terris,[4] quid ageret, curae sibi haberet certiorem facere Atticum. Hoc quale[5] sit, facilius existimabit is, qui judicare poterit, quantae sit sapientiae, eorum retinere usum[6] benevolentiamque, inter quos maximarum rerum non solum aemulatio sed obtrectatio tanta intercedebat, quantam fuit incidere necesse inter Caesarem atque Antonium, cum se uterque principem non solum urbis Romae sed orbis terrarum esse cuperet.

21. Tali modo cum septem et septuaginta annos complesset, atque ad extremam senectutem non minus dignitate quam gratia fortunaque crevisset (multas enim hereditates nulla alia re quam bonitate consecutus est), tantaque prosperitate usus esset valetudinis, ut annis[7] triginta medicina non indiguisset, nactus est morbum,[8] quem initio et ipse et medici contempserunt. Nam putarunt esse tenesmon,[9] cui remedia celeria faciliaque proponebantur.[10] In hoc cum tres menses

[1] 'No day readily passed'—that is, 'scarcely a day passed.' In negative sentences *temere* has often the force of *facile.*

[2] The nominative, another form for *aedes.* The temple of Jupiter Feretrius (the origin of the latter name is uncertain), on the Capitoline Hill, was founded by Romulus after one of his victories.

[3] 'Uncovered,' 'made roofless.'

[4] Namely, Egypt, or the East generally, which Antony had obtained as his dominion.

[5] That is, how difficult.

[6] 'Intimacy,' as often.

[7] For *annos: Gram.* § 256, n. 1. Nepos's statement here does not mean that Atticus never was ill during these thirty years, but merely that his ailments were comparatively slight, so as not to require the use of medicine.

[8] 'Obtained (fell into) a disease.' *Nanciscor* is rarely used of adverse things: compare *Ages.* 8, beginning.

[9] *Tenesmus* or *tenesmos* (Greek, τεινεσμὸς or τηνεσμὸς, 'a straining' of the intestines), is a certain severe form of diarrhœa. The medical term *tenesmus* should be preserved in translation. As to the Greek accusative in *on*, see *Gram.* § 58, n. 7.

[10] 'Were brought forward,' and applied.

sine ullis doloribus, praeterquam quos ex curatione capiebat, consumpsisset, subito tanta vis morbi in unum intestinum prorupit, ut extremo tempore per lumbos fistulae[1] puris eruperint. Atque hoc priusquam ei accideret, postquam in dies dolores accrescere febresque accessisse sensit, Agrippam generum ad se accersi[2] jussit, et cum eo L. Cornelium Balbum Sextumque Peducaeum.[3] Hos ut venisse vidit, in cubitum innixus, 'Quantam,'[4] inquit, 'curam diligentiamque in valetudine mea tuenda hoc tempore adhibuerim, cum vos testes habeam, nihil necesse est pluribus verbis commemorare. Quibus quoniam, ut spero, satisfeci, me nihil reliqui fecisse,[5] quod ad sanandum me pertineret, reliquum est ut egomet mihi consulam. Id vos ignorare nolui. Nam mihi stat[6] alere morbum desinere. Namque his diebus quidquid cibi sumpsi, ita produxi vitam, ut[7] auxerim dolores sine spe salutis. Quare a vobis peto primum, ut consilium probetis meum, deinde[8] ne frustra dehortando impedire conemini.'

22. Hac oratione habita tanta constantia vocis atque vultus, ut non ex vita sed ex domo in domum videretur migrare, cum quidem Agrippa eum flens atque osculans oraret atque obsecraret, ne ad id, quod natura cogeret, ipse quoque sibi acceleraret[9] . . . . . et, quoniam tum quoque

[1] *Fistula* is properly 'a pipe;' hence 'a deep ulcer.'

[2] As to this form, see *Dion*, 2, p. 79, n. 8.

[3] Balbus was consul in 40 B.C., and a great favourite both of Julius Caesar and Octavianus. Sextus Peducaeus, propraetor in Spain in 39 B.C., was an intimate friend of Atticus and Cicero.

[4] In the order of construction, *cum vos testes habeam* comes in before *quantam.*

[5] *Quibus satisfeci me fecisse* is a construction exactly corresponding to the English 'whom I have satisfied that I have made.' However, it is elliptical, the full expression being *quibus satisfeci, ut credatis me fecisse,* 'for whom I have done enough that you should believe (for you to believe) that I have made.' *Reliquum facere* for *relinquere,* 'to leave,' 'to leave undone,' is, like *missum facere* for *mittere,* a phrase of frequent occurrence.

[6] 'It stands firm to me'—that is, 'I am determined.' Sometimes we find *sententia stat,* 'the opinion (resolution) is fixed.'

[7] 'So—that' may here, as not unfrequently, be rendered by 'indeed—but.'

[8] Namely, if you cannot do the former.

[9] 'That he should not himself hurry towards that which nature was forcing on.' *Accelero* is generally used as a transitive verb, but this neuter use is also quite classical. *Sibi* is a dative of disadvantage, 'for his own misfortune.' After *acceleraret* there is a gap marked in

posset temporibus superesse,[1] se sibi suisque reservaret, preces ejus taciturna sua obstinatione depressit.[2] Sic cum biduum cibo se abstinuisset, subito febris decessit, leviorque morbus esse coepit. Tamen propositum nihilo secius peregit. Itaque die quinto postquam id consilium inierat, pridie Kal. Apriles, Cn. Domitio, C. Sosio consulibus,[3] decessit. Elatus est in lecticula, ut ipse praescripserat, sine ulla pompa funeris, comitantibus omnibus bonis,[4] maxima vulgi frequentia. Sepultus est juxta viam Appiam,[5] ad quintum lapidem, in monumento Q. Caecilii, avunculi sui.

the manuscripts. It is impossible to say what has been omitted, for there is no break in the sense.

1 'To survive these (unfortunate) circumstances.' *Temporibus* is the dative, governed by *superesse;* and this use of *tempora,* in the sense of 'critical circumstances,' is not uncommon.

2 'Pressed down,' 'kept down.' This expresses the inward struggle which Atticus had to maintain, in order to resist compliance with the affectionate entreaties of Agrippa.

3 That is, on the 31st of March 32 B.C.

4 We see from the antithetic *vulgus* that *boni* here, as occasionally, are 'the rich,' 'well-born,' who, having a stake in the country's prosperity, were naturally supposed to be 'good' citizens. From this sense of *bonus,* superlative *optimus,* comes the term *optimates,* 'the aristocracy.'

5 The Appian road—so called, because it was begun by Appius Claudius the Blind in his censorship, 312 B.C.—was the highway between Rome and Brundusium. Milestones were erected regularly along the whole course of the great Roman roads. As to Q. Caecilius, see the beginning of chapter 5.

THE END.

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